

## The Coptic *Life of Aaron*

# Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE AND LANGUAGE

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Or. 7029, fol. 23b

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# The Coptic *Life of Aaron*

*Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary*

*By*

Jitse H.F. Dijkstra  
Jacques van der Vliet



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πεχλαϥ ναϊ χε  
ογζωβ ενανογϥ πετεκωινε ἡσωϥ, ω παωηρε.  
εωχε ακρι τοοτῃ επιζωβ ετνανογϥ, νιη πετναωκωλγ ημοκ,  
ω παωηρε;

He said to me,  
'It is something good that you are pursuing, my son.  
Since you have begun the good thing, who will be able to stop you,  
my son?'

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## Preface

The groundwork for this book was laid at the time when the first-named author was working on a doctoral dissertation at the University of Groningen about the religious transformation of the Aswan region in Late Antiquity (2000–2005).<sup>1</sup> Since the *Life of Aaron* was one of the key sources for this project, he got in touch with the second-named author. After a first consultation of both manuscripts in the British Library by the first author in June 2001, the second author invited him to join a study group under his guidance at Leiden University in 2001/2002, in which several hagiographical texts, including a significant part of the *Life of Aaron*, were read. We would like to thank Clara ten Hacken, Joost Hagen and Robert Hub for their considerable input in these highly stimulating sessions. While reading the text, it became immediately clear that the edition by Budge was insufficient, as we discovered new readings on virtually every page, and the idea of producing a new edition goes back to this time. The results of the first author's literary and historical analysis of the work, to which the second author contributed significantly, appeared in a preliminary article in 2007, and two chapters of the revised version of his dissertation in 2008, where several relevant passages are also given in a new text and translation.<sup>2</sup>

It was during a visit by the second author to Ottawa in February 2011 that both authors decided to embark on a collaborative project to furnish a new critical edition of the *Life of Aaron*. In 2011/2012, Maaïke Langerak (Leiden University) was employed to type over the text from a photocopy of the manuscript under the supervision of the second author; we are much indebted to her accuracy in transcribing the text. At this stage, the second author also proposed several emendations and corrections to the text, established a first critical apparatus (with collation against Budge's text) and working translation, and made some observations for inclusion in the commentary. The project was announced, and the principles of our edition were outlined, during a lecture by the first author at Leiden on 11 May 2012.<sup>3</sup> Progress was greatly stimulated by

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1 J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity (AD 298–642)* (unpubl. diss.; Groningen, 2005), in which the *Life of Aaron* is discussed at pp. 97–123 (Chs 6–7).

2 J.H.F. Dijkstra, “‘Une foule immense de moines’”. The Coptic *Life of Aaron* and the Early Bishops of Philae, in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Vienna, 2007) 191–197, and *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–642 CE)* (Leuven, 2008) 225–269 (Chs 7–8), where the idea of a new critical edition is mentioned at p. 227 (n. 12).

3 Published as J.H.F. Dijkstra, ‘Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late An-

high resolution photos of the principal manuscript kindly sent to us by Elisabeth O'Connell (British Museum), which led to a systematic review of the text and several minor corrections by the first author in December 2013.<sup>4</sup> The first author visited the British Library a second time on 17–18 February 2014 to do a last check of the papyrus fragments of the earlier manuscript and collate the tenth-century manuscript, which again led to several improvements, while the second author saw the originals in July 2014.<sup>5</sup> Our edition of the papyrus fragments marked a crucial next step in the project.<sup>6</sup>

In the following one and a half years (2014–2015 and Fall 2015), the text was read by a study group consisting of colleagues and graduate students (the target audience of this edition) supervised by the first author at the University of Ottawa. Besides generating stimulating discussions, the reading group was the perfect environment for turning the translation into current English, while at the same time staying close to the text, and assessing what should be discussed in the commentary. We would like to thank Heather Barkman, Theodore de Bruyn, Mélanie Houle, Lucas Marincak and Timothy Pettipiece for their participation in 2014–2015, and Barkman, Houle and Marincak, as well as Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin and Emily Laflèche for their participation in Fall 2015, which made these inspiring sessions a joy to attend. One of the students, Marincak, also wrote his MA thesis 'The *Life of Aaron*: A Narratological Study' in the context of the project, which was defended on 7 April 2016. Meanwhile, as the

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tiquity: Towards a New Critical Edition of the Coptic *Life of Aaron*', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 5 (2013) 31–47.

- 4 The manuscript was displayed in the British Museum exhibit 'Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs' (29 October 2015–7 February 2016) and a digital version has since then been available online at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or\\_7029](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_7029). See E.R. O'Connell, I. Tahan, 'Interpreting the Past. Revealing Life and Faith in Egypt Long after the Pharaohs', *Current World Archaeology* 74 (2015) 34–35.
- 5 Two articles were conceived at this time, a literary analysis of the episode of Macedonius and the holy falcon of Philae by the first author, which was presented at the 7th Annual Coptic Studies Symposium of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies at Toronto on 1 March 2014 and then published as 'I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today': The Discourse of Idol Destruction in the Coptic *Life of Aaron*', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 8 (2015) 61–75, and a study drawing attention to the Nubian side of the Esna-Edfu manuscripts by the second author, 'Nubian Voices from Edfu: Egyptian Scribes and Nubian Patrons in Southern Egypt', in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices 11: New Texts and Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw, 2015) 263–277, which prepared much of the ground for the section on 'Manuscripts and Colophon' in the Introduction below. In addition, the second author gave a lecture on the *Life of Aaron* to the Genootschap Oudchristelijke Studietoelagen at Amersfoort on 4 October 2014.
- 6 J.H.F. Dijkstra, J. van der Vliet, 'The Earliest Manuscript of the Coptic *Life of Aaron*: British Library, Or. 7558 (89) (93) (150)', *VChr* 69 (2015) 368–392.

translation was improved after each session, work on the commentary started in May 2015 and lasted until June 2016. The first author would like to thank the University of Ottawa for granting him a sabbatical leave in Winter 2016, which greatly aided him in finishing this work.

In 2016–2017, the second author went systematically through the text, translation and commentary, resulting in discussions between both authors and numerous revisions which were then incorporated by the first author. In this year, the latter also gave a series of four lectures covering various aspects of the Introduction. He would like to thank the audiences at Toronto (9th and 10th Annual Coptic Studies Symposium of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies, 2 April 2016 and 1 April 2017), San Antonio (Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 21 November 2016) and Brussels (XVIII<sup>e</sup> Journée d'études de l'Association francophone de coptologie, 23 June 2016) for useful feedback. Moreover, the second author devoted part of his presidential address, pronounced at the 11th International Congress of Coptic Studies at Claremont on 25 July 2016, to the literary aspects of the text. In the course of 2018–2019, the various sections of the Introduction were completed. The first author wrote the sections on 'Previous Scholarship', 'Structure and Narrative Levels', 'Genre, Author and Audience', 'Sources and Intertextuality' and 'Historical Significance and Date', the second author those on 'Manuscripts and Colophon', 'Language and Orthography' and 'A Word on the Edition, Translation and Commentary', but both read through the other's sections and the Introduction is therefore, like the book as a whole, the result of a collaborative effort.

In addition to those already mentioned, we would like to express our gratitude to a number of people who have helped in various ways along the path towards publication. First of all, both authors would like to thank Ilana Tahan (British Library) for kindly facilitating their inspection of the manuscripts during visits to London in Winter/Summer 2014. Moreover, in Spring 2015 and 2017, respectively, Matthias Müller (University of Basel) and Günter Vittmann (University of Würzburg) tried out passages of our text with their students. We kindly thank them for sharing their feedback with us. Thirdly, several scholars gave their expert advice on aspects of the introduction, translation and commentary. We would like to thank in particular Theodore de Bruyn, Renate Dekker, Geoffrey Greatrex, Marc Malevez, Fritz Mitthof, Bernhard Palme, Mark Sheridan, Matthias Stern, Alin Suciu and Ewa Zakrzewska. People who have contributed to particular entries are mentioned in the commentary. The first author is also grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for awarding him with an Insight Grant that funded his research on the *Life of Aaron* from 2015 until the end of the project. Both authors would like to thank Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin for excellent work on the Coptic

indices and the people at Brill, in particular Maaïke Langerak (now as production editor, with which her contribution to our book came full circle), for their superb care in bringing this book to production.

Last but not least, we cannot pass by our loved ones with whom we have shared our excitement and enthusiasm about this text over the years. The first author dedicates this book to his wife Silvia and sons Kai, Yannick and Marek, the second author to his wife Ewa.

Ottawa/Haarlem, 1 March 2019

# Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient authors follow the standard dictionaries: for Greek authors those of H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 196<sup>9</sup>, with rev. suppl.) = LSJ; for Latin authors those of P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982); for Patristic Greek authors those of G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) = Lampe, *PGL*; for Patristic Latin authors those of A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1967<sup>2</sup>). In the case of Christian authors a brief reference to the edition is added. Coptic and Syriac works, for which such comprehensive lists are absent and which are less easily accessible, are written out completely, with a full reference to the edition in brackets. Bible books are abbreviated according to P.H. Alexander et al. (eds), *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA, 1999).

For papyrological abbreviations, including *instrumenta*, see <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. For epigraphical abbreviations, see *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam and Leiden, 1923–), available online at <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/abbreviations-aabbr>.

Abbreviations of journals are in principle based on the list in J. Marouzeau (ed.), *L'année philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine* (Paris, 1924–), available online at [https://aboutbrepolis.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/aph\\_abbrc3agviations.pdf](https://aboutbrepolis.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/aph_abbrc3agviations.pdf), unless different ones are used in Egyptology, for which see W. Helck, E. Otto, H. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols (Wiesbaden, 1975–1992) = *LÄ*. Abbreviations of reference works follow S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 2012<sup>4</sup>), available online at <http://classics.oxfordre.com/fileasset/images/ORECLA/OCD.ABBREVIATIONS.pdf>. Other abbreviations used are:

CPG	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols (1974–1987)
Erman and Grapow, WB	A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 6 vols (Berlin and Leipzig, 1957 <sup>2</sup> )
FHN III	T. Eide et al. (eds), <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum</i> , vol. 3 (Bergen, 1998)
I.Philae.Dem.	F.Ll. Griffith, <i>Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus</i> , 2 vols (Oxford, 1935–1937)
NETS	A. Pietersma, B.G. Wright (eds), <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> (Oxford, 2007)

NRSV

B.M. Metzger, R.C. Dentan, W. Harrelson (eds), *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books. New Revised Standard Version* (New York, 1989)



# Introduction

## 1 Previous Scholarship<sup>1</sup>

The *Life of Aaron* is the most substantial work in a tenth-century paper codex kept at the British Library (formerly the British Museum) under Oriental manuscript number (henceforth abbreviated Or.) 7029, and numbered 163 in the catalogue of Coptic literary manuscripts in the British Library published by Bentley Layton in 1987.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript belongs to the so-called Esna-Edfu collection, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section, and was published with text and translation by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge (1857–1934) in part v of his series of volumes with editions of Coptic literary texts in the British Museum in 1915.<sup>3</sup> In the preface to this volume, he writes:

The chief object of the publication of this pioneer edition of the Edfû manuscripts is to make accessible as quickly as possible the information contained in them. Its plan and scope rendered it impossible to treat adequately the numerous points concerning the history, theology, mythology, eschatology, folklore, manners and customs, philology, &c., with which these texts abound. Even were a single editor capable of the task, any serious attempt to perform it must have doubled the number of volumes in the series, and delayed for several years the publication as a whole of this most important collection of ecclesiastical documents.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, then, Budge's main aim was to make these texts available without delay; he did not envisage a definitive edition, including of our text.

The historical interest of the *Life of Aaron* was soon recognized. In 1924, Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930) argued that the text contained evidence for the continuity of the Ancient Egyptian cults on the island of Philae (in particu-

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1 This section is based on, and updates, earlier surveys in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 232–234, and 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 33–34.

2 B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library* (London, 1987) 196–199 (no. 163).

3 E.A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) lvi–lix (description of manuscript), cxliv–clvi (summary), 432–495 (text), and 948–1011 (translation).

4 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, xxiv.

lar, the falcon cult) and the early Christian see that was created there in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>5</sup> From then on, the work is regularly adduced as a main source for early Christianity at Philae<sup>6</sup> and, because Nubians figure prominently in it, for the Christianization of Nubia.<sup>7</sup> As such, it has also found its way into several major reference works and encyclopaedias.<sup>8</sup> Despite the recognition of its historical interest, however, before the twenty-first century there was only one brief article by Tito Orlandi devoted to the *Life of Aaron*, in which he attempted to answer some basic questions about its literary character.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, no efforts were made to revisit the clearly preliminary first edition, as appears most strikingly from the two translations that have appeared thus far, one in Italian by Orlandi and Antonella Campagnano and one in English by Tim Vivian, which improve Budge's translation in several ways but are still mostly reliant on his text.<sup>10</sup> Finally, during work on the Coptic literary manuscripts in the British Library in the 1980s fragments of another, much earlier manuscript of the *Life of Aaron* were discovered, which until recently have remained unedited.<sup>11</sup>

- 5 W. Spiegelberg, 'Ägyptologische Beiträge III. Der Falkenkultus auf der Insel Philae in christlicher Zeit', *AfP* 7 (1924) 186–189.
- 6 E.g. H. Munier, 'Le christianisme à Philae', *BSAC* 4 (1938) 37–49 at 41–43; L.S.B. MacCoull, 'Christianity at Syene/Elephantine/Philae', *BASP* 27 (1990) 151–162 at 159.
- 7 E.g. J. Kraus, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien* (Diss. Münster; Mödling bei Wien, 1930) 47–51; U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana* (Rome, 1938) 44–45, with the comments by P. Peeters in his review of this book in *AB* 61 (1943) 273–280 at 275–276; L.P. Kirwan, 'Studies in the Later History of Nubia', *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 24 (1937) 69–105 at 95–96 (repr. in idem, *Studies on the History of Late Antique and Christian Nubia* [Aldershot and Burlington, 2002] Ch. xxv); S.G. Richter, *Studien zur Christianisierung Nubiens* (Wiesbaden, 2002) 121–123.
- 8 E.g. H. Kees, 'Philai', in *RE* 19.2 (1938) 2109–2113 at 2111–2112; Timm 1.392–401 at 393–394; R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, 'Philae: Monasticism', in *Copt.Enc.* VI (1991) 1955–1956. See now also J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Philae', in *RAC* XXVII (2015) 574–591 at 584, 586, 590, and 'Philae', in O. Nicholson (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2018) 1183.
- 9 T. Orlandi, 'Un testo copto sulle origini del cristianesimo in Nubia', in J. Leclant, J. Vercoutter (eds), *Études nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 juillet 1975* (Cairo, 1978) 225–230.
- 10 A. Campagnano, T. Orlandi, *Vite di monaci copti* (Rome, 1984) 71–125; T. Vivian, *Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onnophrius by Paphnutius* (Kalamazoo, 2000<sup>2</sup>) 73–141. There is also an excellent translation in Dutch of an excerpt of the work (fol. 11b–18a) by J.F. Borghouts, *Egyptische sagen en verhalen* (Bussum, 1974) 184–189.
- 11 Layton, *Catalogue*, 172–173 (no. 150), who includes a brief description of the fragments with corresponding line numbers in Budge's edition. Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 70 mentions the fragments, referring to Layton.

The first systematic study of the work was conducted by the first-named author in the context of his doctoral project on the religious transformation in the region of the First Cataract in Late Antiquity, in which the second-named author was also involved (see Preface). A preliminary article appeared in 2007 and a full literary and historical analysis of the whole work in two chapters of the revised version of the first author's dissertation in 2008, which also offered a new text and translation of several relevant passages.<sup>12</sup> As a critical edition was still outstanding, however, both authors decided to start up a collaborative project with that aim in 2011.<sup>13</sup> A first major step was to edit the papyrus fragments of the earliest manuscript of the *Life of Aaron* and compare them to the corresponding passages in the later manuscript, which was completed in 2015.<sup>14</sup> The present book is the final outcome of the project. In it, we not only for the first time offer a critical edition of the work and a fresh new translation of the text, but also an exhaustive commentary addressing philological, literary and historical aspects. The reader will be introduced to all of these aspects of the text in the following sections.

## 2 Manuscripts and Colophon

The *Life of Aaron* is, as we have seen, transmitted in a single tenth-century manuscript and in the tiny fragments of a much earlier one. Both manuscripts are in Sahidic Coptic and no traces of transmission in any of the other literary languages of the region, such as Greek, Old Nubian or Arabic, are presently known to us. In this section, we offer a succinct description of these two manuscripts. Manuscripts are more than mere text bearers, however. They are crucial witnesses to the reception of a text under specific social and historical conditions, information for which other sources are often sorely missing. We therefore pay attention to these contextual aspects as well, focusing on our principal manuscript from the tenth century and providing a new translation of its colophon.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Dijkstra, “‘Foule immense de moines’”, and *Philae and the End*, 225–269 (Chs 7–8).

<sup>13</sup> The project is announced by Dijkstra, ‘Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier’.

<sup>14</sup> Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, ‘Earliest Manuscript of the Coptic *Life of Aaron*’.

<sup>15</sup> Ideally, a reconstruction of the cultural setting of the manuscript tradition would require an integral study of the Esna-Edfu collection of manuscripts. For obvious reasons, such a study cannot be undertaken here.

## 2.1 *Manuscript British Library Or. 7029*

The *Life of Aaron* is preserved almost completely in the paper codex British Library Or. 7029, dated to 14 July 992 by its colophon. The detailed description by Layton in his catalogue of the Coptic literary manuscripts in the British Library replaces the less accurate one by Budge in his *editio princeps*.<sup>16</sup> Layton's description is summarized here in a synthetic way and for further details we refer to his catalogue entry.

British Library Or. 7029 belongs to the earliest Coptic codices using paper instead of parchment or papyrus.<sup>17</sup> In its present form, it comprises 78 folia mounted in modern paper and rebound in a modern binding. The tooling pattern of the original leather binding of the codex, removed upon rebinding, is reproduced as a line-drawing in Budge's *editio princeps*.<sup>18</sup> The medieval binding contained parts of older, discarded manuscripts on papyrus, reused as stuffing material (so-called cartonnage). According to a report by Sir Herbert Thompson (1859–1944) written after removal of the fragments in 1912, they included passages from the biblical books of Genesis, Joshua and Wisdom, an unidentified apocalyptic work, the *Acts of Stephen* and *Acts of Pantoleon*.<sup>19</sup>

Fol. 78 is a paper leaf with parts of one or more Sahidic hymns to the Virgin Mary, comparable to the Bohairic *Theotokia*. Although apparently purchased at the same time, it bears no visible relation to the remainder of the manuscript and has accordingly been catalogued by Layton as a separate entry.<sup>20</sup> Its distinctive lay-out and script (late sloping uncials) suggest that it belonged to a liturgical manuscript, of which no further leaves are known to survive.

Fol. 1–77 were grouped in ten irregular quires numbered one to eleven on their first and last pages.<sup>21</sup> Both quires and pages are numbered in Coptic

16 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lvi–lix; Layton, *Catalogue*, 196–199 (no. 163).

17 See A. Boud'hors, 'Manuscrits coptes de papier (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle): quelques éléments de caractérisation', in M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (ed.), *Le papier au Moyen Âge: histoire et techniques* (Turnhout, 1999) 75–84 at 76–79.

18 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lvii.

19 Layton, *Catalogue*, xxx and 199. Transcriptions of the latter two works have been discovered in Thompson's papers by S. Uljas, 'Lost Coptic Texts from Herbert Thompson Papers I: The "Acts of Stephen"', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 17 (2015) 165–213, where the 1912 report is quoted at pp. 167–168, and 'Lost Coptic Texts from Herbert Thompson Papers II: The Acts of Pantoleon and the Martyrdom of St Cornelius', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 21 (2019) 225–256, with pp. 226–239 covering the *Acts of Pantoleon*.

20 Layton, *Catalogue*, 78 (no. 74).

21 The ninth quire bears two numbers, nine and ten. Note that the precise structure of the

numerals, pages in the outer corners, quires in the inner corners of the upper margins. The numbers are usually flanked with single dots and surmounted by a stroke with a decorative flourish. *Recto* pages bear even numbers. Fol. 21 and 28 were bound in inverse order (*verso-recto*) during modern rebinding.<sup>22</sup> Due to the loss of the margins in most folia, the ancient page and quire numbers are only occasionally preserved. The present maximum size of the ancient pages is, according to Layton, 30.7×18.5 cm, while the written area measures on average ca. 28.8×16 cm. The pages must have been somewhat larger originally.<sup>23</sup>

In our edition we refer to the pages of the manuscript by the modern folio numbers that were used by Budge in his *editio princeps*.<sup>24</sup> This modern numbering does not take into account that the first folio of the manuscript is missing. Thus, our (modern) fol. 1a (*recto*) is actually ancient p. 2, our fol. 1b (*verso*) ancient p. 3, and so on. The original pagination system seems to imply that before the modern fol. 1a (*recto* = ancient p. 2) only one page of text, the ancient p. 1 (a *verso*), containing the title of the *Life of Aaron*, is missing. The *recto* of the first, missing folio, if not left blank, would then have consisted of a decorative device or drawing, as is found in other manuscripts from the same find. For two reasons this scenario is less likely, however. Similar late Sahidic manuscripts usually use a *recto* page for the title, while the *verso* of page-filling frontispieces is left blank.<sup>25</sup> We therefore have to envisage the hypothesis that the scribe started writing on the *recto* of the lost first folio, but left his title page unnumbered. He began numbering his pages only from the *verso*

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rebound manuscript cannot be ascertained anymore; see the collation in Layton, *Catalogue*, 198.

- 22 Budge took this into account in his numbering of fol. 28a–b, but for fol. 21 he maintained the erroneous order in his text and translation (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 453–454, 969–970), which is followed by Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 95–96. It were Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 89–90, who first observed that the leaf has to be turned round and that fol. 21b in the manuscript should be corrected to 21a and vice versa, a numbering that we are following here. The mistake in the binding can be explained in this instance by the fact that fol. 21 was acquired separately in 1907, two years before the rest of the manuscript, and was then placed wrong side up in the new binding. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 237 (n. 54).
- 23 Making them close in size to the (earlier) papyrus codices of Turner's Group 3; see E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977) 15–16.
- 24 For these numbers, see Layton, *Catalogue*, lv.
- 25 For an example, see Or. 7021, another paper codex from the same collection (Layton, *Catalogue*, 133–134 [no. 120]), which has a full-page frontispiece, a drawing of the Archangel Michael, on fol. 1a (the *verso* is left blank) and the title of the Sahidic text on fol. 2a. Both are illustrated in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, Pls XXIII–XXIV.

of the missing folio, which would account for the properly incorrect use of even numbers for *recto* pages in the remainder of the manuscript.<sup>26</sup> If this hypothesis is accepted, our manuscript would lack not one, but two pages of text.<sup>27</sup>

The missing first folio, however laid out, must have contained the title and opening lines of the first text, the *Life of Aaron*.<sup>28</sup> The title was most likely a quite elaborate preamble within a decorative frame, stating genre, author, subject matter and a liturgical date, as was habitual in the period.<sup>29</sup> It must be emphasized that the title and author's name as well as the subtitles and subdivisions given by Layton in his *Catalogue* reflect a modern analysis of the text and are *not* found in the manuscript.<sup>30</sup> As preserved in codex Or. 7029, the text called *Life of Aaron* by us is an acephalous and continuous text.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to lacking its first folio, the manuscript has suffered considerable damage. Not only have many pages lost most of their margins, parts of the written area have also been torn or become obscure, sometimes illegible, by scorching, in fol. 36–45 at the top and fol. 46–75 at the bottom of the pages. The resulting loss of text is sometimes considerable and, although the flow of the

26 The same may have been the case in Or. 6802, a paper codex from the same collection (Layton, *Catalogue*, 148–150 [no. 131]), but this cannot be verified on account of the damaged state of the codex (the first folio lacks its page numbers and the next surviving leaf is numbered 20 on the *recto*).

27 Cf. the statements of Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lvi, 'one or two leaves are wanting at the beginning' and pp. 432, 948, 'some pages wanting'.

28 For our reconstruction of the opening scene, see the commentary on 1–3 (throughout this book, the bolded numbers refer to the paragraph numbers that we have used to divide the text).

29 Compare, in the same codex, the title of *Homily of Timothy of Alexandria on Michael the Archangel* (CPG 2529), fol. 67b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 512), which takes up eight lines, loosely framed by ornamental devices. It runs in translation: 'A homily pronounced by Saint Timothy, the archbishop of Alexandria, for the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, on the twelfth of this month Paone (6 June). He also spoke about the pits of the tortures (in hell) and the souls that are in them. And he spoke about repentance and the inundation. In the peace of God. Bless us. Amen, amen, amen'. Cf. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1021 (n. 1), who erroneously converts the date to 6 May. For a typology of Coptic book titles, see P. Buzi, *Titoli ed autori nella tradizione copta. Studio storico e tipologico* (Pisa, 2005), esp. pp. 107–124 (the title of Pseudo-Timothy's *Homily*, quoted at pp. 63 and 107 under no. 404, belongs to her 'titoli a struttura semplice espansa'); cf. her 'From Single-Text to Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Transmission Changes in the Coptic Literary Tradition. Some Case Studies from the White Monastery Library', in M. Friedrich and C. Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Berlin, 2016) 93–109 at 98–100.

30 Layton, *Catalogue*, 196–197, under 1, a–c.

31 For a discussion of title and authorship, see pp. 42–45 below.

narrative in the *Life of Aaron* is nowhere seriously interrupted, some lacunae proved too large to be filled in even conjecturally.

Discounting the extraneous fol. 78, the codex contains four different texts, of which the *Life of Aaron* is the first and by far the longest. These are:

1. the *Life of Aaron* (fol. 1a–57a), acephalous, immediately followed, after a double decorative line, by:
2. seven liturgical readings for the festival of Aaron (fol. 57a–61a), under the laconic title: ΠΑΡΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ‘the festival of Apa Aaron’, followed by the names and verses of the lessons in question;<sup>32</sup>
3. a dying *Prayer of Athanasius* (CPG 2182; fol. 61a–67b), for 7 Pashons (2 May), as recorded by his second successor, Timothy of Alexandria (AD 380–385);
4. a *Homily of Timothy of Alexandria on Michael the Archangel* (CPG 2529; fol. 67b–75b), for 12 Paone (6 June).

The colophons and two reader’s notes occupy fol. 75a–77a; fol. 77b is blank.

The texts proper in codex Or. 7029 are written in a uniform and fairly regular hand, displaying the stiff and narrow upright ‘bi-modular’ uncials that are characteristic of Sahidic literary manuscripts from the late eighth-early ninth century onwards, with a narrow ε, ο and c, a short p, γ and q and a broad three-stroke μ.<sup>33</sup> Paratextual units, such as titles and colophons, are written in the late sloping uncials (‘colophon script’) that are closer in style to the script of contemporaneous documentary texts.<sup>34</sup>

The text of the *Life of Aaron* is written throughout in single columns of 23–26 lines of ca. 25–26 letters on average that fill the page in an even and fairly uniform manner, although no strict justification of the right-hand margin is attempted (only occasionally have last letters of a line been extended or abbreviated). The principal means to punctuate the flow of the text is a system of word and word-group separation. Throughout the text, single words and short phrases are systematically, though not always entirely consistently, separated by means of a combination of raised dots and spaces, apparently in order to delimit prosodic units. This practice marks a clear break with the ancient tra-

32 See below, pp. 17–18 for a listing and discussion of the individual lessons.

33 Cf. P. Buzi, ‘Coptic Palaeography’, in A. Bausi et al. (eds), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* (Hamburg, 2015) 283–286 at 285.

34 For this style of writing, widely used in medieval Upper Egypt and Nubia for both Greek and Coptic texts, see A. Boud’hors, ‘L’ onciale penchée en copte et sa survie jusqu’au xve siècle en Haute-Égypte’, in F. Déroche and F. Richard (eds), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris, 1997) 118–133. On account of its standard use in later Coptic colophons, it is also called colophon script.

dition of *scriptio continua*. Larger divisions in the text are frequently separated by a longer blank space (often in combination with a dot or group of dots).<sup>35</sup>

Enlarged letters, sometimes in *ekthesis*, are used sparsely and generally mark a new sentence or paragraph. Merely added for decorative effect, such enlarged letters, often α's, may appear in the first lines of pages, intruding on the upper margin.<sup>36</sup> Proper lectional signs are rare and include occasional budded diples ('fleurons') in the left-hand margin, apparently to highlight a transition in the text, for instance a switch to direct speech or a new paragraph;<sup>37</sup> quotes and direct speech are rarely and inconsistently marked by much simplified diple-like signs in the left-hand margin.<sup>38</sup> The various diacritical signs and ornamental devices used by the scribes, including superlinear strokes, are often highlighted in colour (dark orange). In quite a number of cases marginal signs must have been lost together with the margin itself.

Superlinear strokes are used to mark *schwas* and conventional abbreviations (so-called *nomina sacra*). More incidentally, the ω (rarely o) is provided with a kind of circumflex (reproduced in our text).<sup>39</sup> Apart from the *nomina sacra*, the application of these markers is not very systematic.<sup>40</sup> Two- or three-consonant syllables are usually marked by strokes of varying length, bows and dots, whereas the single syllabic η or ι sparingly receives a brief stroke or dot. With a single exception,<sup>41</sup> no *diaereses* are used. Word breaks are as a rule logically made and respect the syllable structure of the word. To save space at the end of lines, the scribes occasionally used ligatures, raised and cursive letters or strokes replacing final η.<sup>42</sup> In spite of the late date of the manuscript, the

35 E.g. in fol. 10b the closing statement of Pseleusius' two stories (see comm. on 26, εἰς ... ἐβολ) is set apart by longer spaces at beginning and end, a quadruple dot in the first space, as well as budded diples (see below) in the left margin.

36 E.g. in the first line of fol. 7a, the first letters of ἀνεῖ and ἀντάλο.

37 E.g. in fol. 56a, highlighting the closing statement of Isaac's second story (see comm. on 137, εἰς ... ἔαρω(η)); there is also a raised dot with extended space before the statement.

38 E.g. in fol. 50a, marking some, but not all, quotes from the Bible on this page.

39 E.g. fol. 1a, ὦ.

40 E.g. ηηενηη is written in fol. 28b with and in 31a without the superlinear stroke on initial η. Moreover, there are occasional errors of adding strokes in wrong places, e.g. in the former case the scribe also added a superlinear stroke on the second η. These instances of mistakenly added strokes have been corrected in our text and are noted in the critical apparatus.

41 The name ηκαῖαc in fol. 24b, where the *diaeresis* actually consists of three dots arranged in a triangle.

42 To take fol. 43b as an example, on this page ἡγοει(η) has a stroke at the end to replace final η, the last two letters of ἡτεγνογ are combined, the last two letters of ἡπρhc are written in cursive, and the o of ηνεκαρπ'ο'c is written in superscript.



scribes (for whom see below) were wholly competent and produced an overall correct, pleasant and easily legible text (see also below the section on ‘Language and Orthography’).

## 2.2 *Manuscript British Library Or. 7558 (89) (93) (150)*

The second, older manuscript (our ms. A) consists of three papyrus fragments from the British Library (Or. 7558 [89] [93] [150]), described in Layton’s *Catalogue* and published by us in 2015, together with an extensive commentary that is not repeated here.<sup>43</sup> They were discovered among the miscellaneous papyrus fragments that had been reused in the bindings of ten of the manuscripts from the Esna-Edfu collection, from which they were extracted at the British Museum in the years 1911–1913. Unfortunately, it was not recorded which fragment was removed from which of these ten manuscripts, but at least their material connection with this collection of manuscripts produced in the Esna-Edfu region cannot be doubted.<sup>44</sup>

The fragments, two of which (89 and 150) join, measure 9.7×12.3 cm (89), 4.3×4.9 cm (150) and 8.0×8.2 cm (93). They constitute the much-ruined remains of two leaves of a papyrus codex, with only 89 + 150 r<sup>o</sup> preserving part of a rather broad left-hand margin. The text of the fragments corresponds as follows to that of our principal manuscript:

Or. 7558 (89 + 150) v <sup>o</sup>	=	Or. 7029, fol. 28a, ll. 13–21
Or. 7558 (89 + 150) r <sup>o</sup>	=	Or. 7029, fol. 28b, ll. 8–19, <sup>45</sup>
Or. 7558 (93) r <sup>o</sup>	=	Or. 7029, fol. 30a, ll. 11–19,
Or. 7558 (93) v <sup>o</sup>	=	Or. 7029, fol. 30b, ll. 15–22.

In the present edition, the text of the fragments has been inserted in full, as a parallel text, into our paragraphs 64–65 ([89 + 150] v<sup>o</sup>), 66 ([89 + 150] r<sup>o</sup>), 69 ([93] r<sup>o</sup>) and 70–71 ([93] v<sup>o</sup>)

Since the papyrus fragments correspond to fol. 28a–b and 30a–b of the later manuscript and the corresponding lines are found at about the same height on the page on the *recto* and *verso* of the later manuscript, it is likely that the

43 Layton, *Catalogue*, 172–173 (no. 150); Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, ‘Earliest Manuscript’.

44 See Layton, *Catalogue*, xxx, 173. The fragments do not seem to correspond to the ones listed by Thompson, and cited by Layton, *Catalogue*, 199, as coming from the bindings of Or. 7029 (the manuscript containing the *Life of Aaron*), for which see p. 4 above, but note that these are only the fragments that Thompson was able to identify.

45 Note that the order of fol. 28a–b has been inverted in the British Library binding; see above, p. 5.

papyrus codex had a more or less similar format and that one leaf is missing between them.<sup>46</sup> The order of the fragments is that the front side of both leaves is written against the fibres and the back side with the fibres.<sup>47</sup> In our earlier description of the fragments, we argued that the order of against the fibres—with the fibres, which usually occurs in the first half of single-quire papyrus codices, could be indicative of the make-up of the codex from which the fragments were taken.<sup>48</sup> Even in quite an early period, however, single-quire and multi-quire Coptic codices existed side by side.<sup>49</sup> This leaves a variety of options for the composition of the original codex, which forbids more precise statements about the original position of the papyrus fragments within the codex.

The scribe of the papyrus codex wrote superlinear strokes above single consonants,<sup>50</sup> used *diaereses* over syllabic ι's,<sup>51</sup> and raised dots for clause division.<sup>52</sup> Traces of ink in the partially preserved margin of 89 + 150 r<sup>o</sup> could be the remains of paragraph marks.<sup>53</sup> As far as these devices can still be read, they appear to have been placed logically and in a manner quite different from the paper codex Or. 7029. Word or word-group separation, as visible throughout the later manuscript, appears to be absent.

The text is written in one, fairly narrow (17–22 letters per line) column to the page in a practiced literary hand. The script represents the 'hybrid script' that, according to Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, combines features of the biblical and Alexandrian majuscules, and was adopted primarily for Coptic or bilingual Greek-Coptic literary manuscripts.<sup>54</sup> It is uni-modular, in the sense that each letter fits the same square shape, and characterized by a contrast in thickness between horizontals and verticals ('thick-and-thin style'). The γ is short, but ρ and q long; the η is three-stroke; the loop of the σ triangular rather than round. Letters are occasionally ligatured. On the whole the script is

46 As is also suggested by Layton, *Catalogue*, 173.

47 Front (against fibres): Or. 7558 (89 + 150) v<sup>o</sup>; back (with fibres): Or. 7558 (89 + 150) r<sup>o</sup>. Front (against fibres): Or. 7558 (93) r<sup>o</sup>, which should have been called v<sup>o</sup>; back (with fibres): Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup>, which should have been called r<sup>o</sup>.

48 Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 'Earliest Manuscript', 373, referring to Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 65.

49 P. Buzi and S. Emmel, 'Coptic Codicology', in Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, 137–153 at 141.

50 E.g. Or. 7558 (89 + 150) v<sup>o</sup>, l. 11: ⲉⲧⲣⲏ̇, where Or. 7029, fol. 28a has ⲉⲧⲣⲏ̇.

51 Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup>, l. 4: ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲏ̇; l. 5: ⲧⲉⲓⲟϣⲏ̇.

52 Or. 7558 (89 + 150) v<sup>o</sup>, l. 13; (89 + 150) r<sup>o</sup>, l. 9; (93) v<sup>o</sup>, ll. 5, 7.

53 Before ll. 4, 10.

54 Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, esp. Pl. 8.

a beautiful and carefully executed representative of what has been called the Coptic-style uncial, which we have assigned on the basis of palaeographical parallels to the sixth-seventh centuries.<sup>55</sup>

In a few instances, the spellings of ms. A reflect dialectal phenomena typical of the Sahidic of southern Upper Egypt.<sup>56</sup> In particular, the spelling of the toponym  $\text{C}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{A}\text{N}$  (Aswan),<sup>57</sup> with a double  $\text{A}$ , shows that ms. A was most likely copied in the same general region as the later paper codex, which abundantly features vowel-doubling, as do the other Sahidic manuscripts from the Esna-Edfu collection.<sup>58</sup>

The importance of the fragments is twofold. They link the transmission of the text over several centuries firmly to southernmost Upper Egypt, specifically the Esna-Edfu region, and allow comparison with the much later version of the paper manuscript. This comparison makes it clear that both manuscripts recount the same narrative in an overall similar manner. In spite of its late date, the medieval version can therefore be considered a generally reliable witness to the Late Antique text. Nonetheless, the comparison also reveals a considerable number of variants, extensively discussed in our *editio princeps* of the fragments.<sup>59</sup> These are mostly due to a process of textual engineering, which involved updating the text with a view to heightening its rhetorical efficacy. Even though they do not drastically alter the text, the sheer number of the resulting variants makes it less likely that our manuscript A served as the direct *Vorlage* of the later manuscript.

In addition to textual variants proper, several striking visual differences highlight the considerable difference in age between the two manuscripts. These are first of all the different media, paper replacing papyrus, and the different styles of handwriting. Secondly, and more interestingly, the later paper codex shows a clear break with the classical tradition of *scriptio continua*. It has introduced a systematic way of dividing prosodic units by means of spaces and raised dots. Similar to the textual variants, this system of word separation may have responded to evolving reading practices and served to enhance the efficacious oral reproduction of the text within a liturgical setting.<sup>60</sup>

55 Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 'Earliest Manuscript', 373–374. On the script, cf. now P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (Berlin, 2019) 98–127.

56 See Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 'Earliest Manuscript', 381.

57 Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup>, l. 7:  $\text{C}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{A}\text{N}$ .

58 See below, p. 30, about language and orthography.

59 Dijkstra and van der Vliet, 'Earliest Manuscript', 380–388.

60 In fact, as the classic account of the rise of word separation in medieval Western manuscripts by P. Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997)

### 2.3 *Modern History and Medieval Context*

Our principal manuscript, British Library Or. 7029, was acquired in two installments: fol. 21 was bought from the dealer and amateur-archaeologist Robert de Rustafjaell (1859–1943) on 12 November 1907, the remainder of the manuscript from the dealers Maurice Nahman and Abd en-Nur Gubrial ('Abd el-Nûr Ghabyrâl/Ghubryâl) on 15 June 1909.<sup>61</sup> It was part of a greater lot of Sahidic (and additionally Greek and Old Nubian) codices, now known as the Esna-Edfu collection of manuscripts, one of the major 'hoards' that preserved Coptic literary texts.<sup>62</sup> According to the account of one of the sellers, De Rustafjaell, this lot (or at least part of it) was discovered in 'the ruins of an old Coptic monastery', situated 'about five miles west of Edfu on the fringe of the desert plateau'.<sup>63</sup> Even though De Rustafjaell's description of the find spot and his identification of the place with a monastery of Saint Mercurius near Edfu, mentioned in the colophons of several of the codices, leaves room for skepticism, the Edfu provenance of codex Or. 7029 is confirmed by its colophon, translated and discussed below. In fact, this colophon and the indubitable link of both manuscripts of the *Life* with the Esna-Edfu collection provide a valuable context for the text's transmission.<sup>64</sup>

The major part of the codices that make up the Esna-Edfu hoard was acquired by the British Museum between 1907 and 1911 and is now stored in the British Library. An additional piece was purchased in 1911 for the Pierpont Mor-

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shows, various factors (cultural, cognitive and linguistic) may have been at work simultaneously. For Coptic, the development of word separation remains to be studied.

- 61 The manuscripts bought, together with the London half of the Patermouthis archive, from De Rustafjaell were probably supplied to him by the same Abd en-Nur, as Layton, *Catalogue*, xxix (n. 22) already suggested, see J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'New Light on the Patermouthis Archive from Excavations at Aswan. When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet', *BASP* 44 (2007) 179–209 at 205–206 (n. 101), and *Philae and the End*, 225 (n. 3).
- 62 For these hoards or—in the terminology of Tito Orlandi—bibliological units, see T. Orlandi, 'A Terminology for the Identification of Coptic Literary Documents', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 15 (2013) 87–94 at 91; cf. J. van der Vliet, 'The Embroidered Garment: Egyptian Perspectives on "Apocryphity" and "Orthodoxy"', in T. Nicklas et al. (eds), *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian 'Orthodoxies'* (Göttingen, 2017) 177–192 at 179.
- 63 R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt from Recently Discovered Predynastic and Early Christian Records* (London, 1909) 3–6 (quotes at pp. 3, 5), partly cited in Layton, *Catalogue*, xxix.
- 64 For what follows, see principally Layton, *Catalogue*, xxvi–xxx, and Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices'; cf. E.R. O'Connell, 'Sources for the Study of Late Antique and Early Medieval Hagr Edfu', in G. Gabra and H.N. Takla (eds), *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia* (Cairo, 2013) 237–248, esp. pp. 245–246.

gan collection in New York,<sup>65</sup> and one manuscript is shared between the Freer Gallery in Washington, acquired in 1908, and the British Library.<sup>66</sup> Their total number is 24 of which 22 are (predominantly) in Sahidic Coptic. One codex, containing the *Life and Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, is entirely in Greek,<sup>67</sup> but also in the Sahidic codices Greek prayers and subscriptions are not rare.<sup>68</sup> Finally, there is a manuscript in Old Nubian, containing a *Miracle of Saint Menas* and a text designated as *Canons of Nicaea*.<sup>69</sup> As far as dates are preserved, the codices appear to have been copied in the course of the century between AD 960 and 1060.

While there may be reason to be skeptical of De Rustafjaell's report about the precise find spot, the connection of the vast majority of the collection with the Esna-Edfu region cannot be doubted. The names and toponyms that can be gleaned from the surviving colophons and reader's notes demonstrate a clear prosopographic clustering in this region.<sup>70</sup> Thus, eight manuscripts can be linked at some stage of their existence to a monastery, church or *topos* (shrine) of Saint Mercurius in or near Edfu, one to a *topos* of Saint Michael in or near Edfu, two to a church of Saint Gabriel in Esna and British Library Or. 7029, our principal manuscript, was written for a  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\pi\alpha \ \xi\alpha\rho\omega(\nu) \ \xi\bar{\mu} \ \pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \eta\tau\bar{\omega}\omega$  'topos of Apa Aaron in the desert of Edfu', according to the colophon.<sup>71</sup> Esna was also the centre where many of the codices were copied, no less than five by Victor, the son of Mercurius, a deacon in the church of Saint Mercurius at Esna. Two more were copied—for a single donor from a village north of Esna—by Theopistos, the son of Severus, an archpriest of the same church

65 Pierpont Morgan Library M 633, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, vol. 1 (Leuven, 1993) 341–343 (no. 168).

66 Freer Gallery, ms. 2, see W.H. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (London, 1923) 115–118; British Library, Or. 7028, 6780, see Layton, *Catalogue*, 194–196 (no. 162).

67 British Library, Add. ms. 37534, see J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976) 256 (no. 704: Cosmas and Damian) and 273 (no. 764: additional prayers); edition, of the Cosmas and Damian text only, E. Rupperecht, *Cosmas et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vitam et miracula e codice Londinensi* (Berlin, 1935). See for the manuscript also De Rustafjaell, *Light of Egypt*, 89–98, with Pl. xxxix.

68 A substantial example are the bilingual (Greek-Sahidic) Psalm and Gospel readings for the festival of Saint Mercurius in Or. 6801, fol. 22a–31a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 249–255); cf. Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 153–154 (no. 418); Layton, *Catalogue*, 146–148 (no. 130).

69 British Library, Or. 6805, first published in a facsimile edition by E.A. Wallis Budge, *Texts Relating to Saint Mena of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian Dialect* (London, 1909); for later editions, see Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices', 273.

70 For the following statistics, see the table in Layton, *Catalogue*, xxvi.

71 Or. 7029, fol. 76a (ed. A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, vol. 1 [Leuven, 1929] 198).

of Mercurius at Esna. Three others, among which our codex Or. 7029, were signed by members of a tenth-century family of scribes and deacons attached to the church of Saint John the Baptist in Esna, which we will discuss below. Two additional codices can be linked in a more imprecise way to Esna and/or Edfu.<sup>72</sup>

Another unifying element in the collection is its close connection with Nubia and Nubian patrons.<sup>73</sup> This is most immediately apparent in the Old Nubian codex Or. 6805. Although it has no surviving colophon, it belongs to the series of manuscripts acquired by the British Museum from De Rustafjaell in 1907.<sup>74</sup> According to report,<sup>75</sup> it was initially offered for sale together with two Sahidic manuscripts, Or. 6799 (for which see below) and Or. 6801,<sup>76</sup> the latter of which was unequivocally dedicated to the monastery of Mercurius at Edfu and copied by Victor, son of Mercurius, from Esna. In addition, three Sahidic codices from the Esna-Edfu hoard attest to Nubian patronage. British Library Or. 6784 was according to its second colophon purchased and donated by someone with the unmistakably Nubian names Mariakouda Ioannou, son of Eisopapo.<sup>77</sup> The codex Or. 6799 was copied in 1053 or 1056 by the deacon Mercurius, son of a deacon Pameos, for a patron whose name is lost, but whose father's name, Mashenka, is clearly Nubian.<sup>78</sup> The donor is, moreover, explicitly stated to hail from 'the district of Pachoras (Faras) in Noubadia' and dedicated the manuscript to the church of the Holy Cross in Pteserrah, the Serra district, some distance south of Faras.<sup>79</sup> A last Sahidic manuscript from the same hoard copied for a Nubian church is Or. 6804, donated by an unnamed donor as an 'inalienable gift' to the 'venerable church of our Saviour Jesus Christ' in Illarte.<sup>80</sup> The toponym is clearly a Nubian one, composed with the vernacular

72 Or. 7030, for which see Layton, *Catalogue*, 164–165 (no. 143); Pierpont Morgan Library M 633, see n. 65 above.

73 Discussed more extensively in Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices'.

74 See De Rustafjaell, *Light of Egypt*, 141–149 (Pls XLIX–LI).

75 F.L. Griffith, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* (Berlin, 1913) 4, after information provided by W.E. Crum.

76 Layton, *Catalogue*, 146–148 (no. 130).

77 Layton, *Catalogue*, 128–129 (no. 117), with Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices', 268–272, where the colophon (earlier in Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 109–110 [no. 65B]) is re-edited and discussed.

78 Layton, *Catalogue*, 89–90 (no. 83). One of various names composed with the Nubian word for 'sun', ⲙⲁⲣⲁ; cf. G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Dictionary* (Leuven, 1996) 241. For the date in the colophons, see G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* (Warsaw, 2011) 163–164.

79 For the toponym, see Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices', 273 (n. 31).

80 Layton, *Catalogue*, 84–85 (no. 80). The latest edition of the colophon is M. Westerhoff,

element *-arti* 'island', but its exact location remains unknown.<sup>81</sup> These indubitable instances of Nubian patronage show that Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954) was right in concluding that the monastery of Saint Mercurius at Edfu, the supposed source of the Esna-Edfu collection, was in medieval times 'un centro di cultura nubiana'.<sup>82</sup>

In this mixed lot of texts that somehow ended up in a desert monastery, possibly the monastery of Saint Mercurius near Edfu, the *Life of Aaron* takes its natural place. It was not only transmitted in the Esna-Edfu region, as the two sole surviving manuscripts show, but Aaron himself had a shrine in the desert of Edfu, according to the colophon of codex Or. 7029 translated below. Its Nubian interest is no less obvious. The *Life* is rich in information about early Christianity in the First Cataract region and contains, among many other mentions of Nubians and their language, Athanasius of Alexandria's prediction of the imminent Christianization of Nubia.<sup>83</sup> In fact, the only secure attestation of a cult of Saint Aaron, beyond the Edfu desert, is precisely from Nubian territory.<sup>84</sup> Conspicuously absent from more northern Egyptian sources, most notably the medieval Arabic redaction of the Coptic *Synaxarium*, he was venerated as Abba Aaron the anchorite at Faras in Noubadia, where he is portrayed in one of the wall paintings from the cathedral, a painting more or less contemporaneous to the manuscript of codex Or. 7029.<sup>85</sup> Apparently, Aaron remained a local saint, at home in southern Upper Egypt and northern Nubia (Noubadia). Moreover, where it is not primarily concerned with Aaron himself, the text of the *Life* converges on the same region, commemorating holy men from the Aswan desert and recounting the early history of the frontier diocese of Philae.

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*Auferstehung und Jenseits im koptischen 'Buch der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn'* (Wiesbaden 1999) 196–197, cf. pp. 15–16.

81 Cf. Van der Vliet, 'Nubian Voices', 274; toponyms ending in *-arti* abound in Nubia, including the First Cataract area.

82 Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, 124.

83 Paragraphs 61–68 of our text; cf. Orlandi, 'Testo copto'; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 330–332, with our commentary to 44.

84 The few more northern attestations cited by A. Łukaszewicz, 'En marge d'une image de l'anachorète Aaron dans la Cathédrale de Faras', *Nubia Christiana* 1 (1982) 192–213 at 202–203, are extremely doubtful. Thus Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 230.

85 Extensively discussed in Łukaszewicz, 'En marge d'une image'. For further details, see comm. on 26, ⲡⲉⲗⲗⲟ ... ⲉⲁⲣⲟⲛ.

#### 2.4 Social and Historical Dimensions of the Text of Manuscript Or. 7029

The codices of the Esna-Edfu hoard belong to a specific period in the history of Coptic literature, best characterized, in Tito Orlandi's terminology, as the period of the 'synaxarial standardization'.<sup>86</sup> This period coincides with the final phase of transmission of Coptic literature, in about the ninth to twelfth centuries. Existing texts of often venerable age were revised, assembled in collective volumes and provided with long preambles. These preambles or titles specified authors, genres, subjects and liturgical dates, information that allowed the insertion of the texts in the liturgical calendar, the *Synaxarium*, of the Egyptian Church.<sup>87</sup> The texts thus edited were basically liturgical texts, destined for being wholly or partly recited during the festivals of the saints that they commemorate.

Even if the title of the *Life of Aaron* in codex Or. 7029 does not survive, it is clear that this manuscript too served a liturgical purpose. The text of the *Life* proper is followed directly by the full text of the scriptural readings for the festival (ⲡⲱⲁ) of Aaron, providing an immediate liturgical context for the reading of the *Life* itself.<sup>88</sup> No date is given for this celebration and Aaron does not figure in the *Synaxarium*. Yet it can be safely assumed that Aaron was commemorated on the day of his death, which according to the text (137) occurred on the seventh hour of the ninth of the month Pashons, that is, on 4 May. The text that follows the lessons for the festival of Aaron in the codex, the dying *Prayer of Athanasius*, was destined for 7 Pashons (2 May), so two days earlier. The selection of this text in combination with the *Life of Aaron* was therefore quite likely determined by liturgical convenience.<sup>89</sup> The final text in the codex, the homily on Saint Michael, was destined for 12 Paone (6 June), slightly over a month later. Its inclusion here may have been the personal choice of the donor or was perhaps motivated by the link with Timothy of Alexandria, its purported author, who according to the final lines of the *Prayer of Athanasius* also recorded the latter text.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, both Timothy and Athanasius, but the latter in particular, appear in the *Life of Aaron*.<sup>91</sup>

86 See Orlandi, 'Terminology', 89–90, 93; cf. Van der Vliet, 'Embroidered Garment', 179–181.

87 For these titles, see the references given above in n. 29.

88 Two other hagiographical manuscripts from the same collection include similar lists of liturgical readings. These are Or. 6781 (Layton, *Catalogue*, 131–132 [no. 119], for the festival of Saint Michael on 12 Paope) and Or. 6801 (Layton, *Catalogue*, 146–148 [no. 130], for the festival of Saint Mercurius on 25 Hathor, among others; partly in Greek, see n. 68 above).

89 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 226. Cf. Orlandi, 'Testo copto', 228–229, who thinks that the works were collected in connection with the Nile inundation.

90 *Prayer of Athanasius* (CPG 2182), fol. 66b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 510).

91 See comm. on 30, ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲉⲁ[ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ] and 83, ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲓⲉ ... ⲉⲉⲟⲩⲡⲓⲟⲥ.



Since the liturgical readings for the festival of Aaron offer a valuable clue to the social function of the *Life*, similar to the colophons, they will be briefly presented here. The lessons, identified earlier by Budge and Layton, are the following:<sup>92</sup>

1. the *prokeimenon*: Ps. 98:1–9 (fol. 57a–57b);<sup>93</sup>
2. the reading from the Apostle, that is, Saint Paul: Heb. 4:14–5:6 (fol. 57b–58a);
3. from the catholic letters: Jas. 5:10–16 (fol. 58a);
4. from the book of Acts 7:34c–43 (fol. 58b–59a);
5. the Alleluia verse: Ps. 76:19b–21 (fol. 59a);<sup>94</sup>
6. the Gospel reading: Matt. 4:23–5:16 (fol. 59a–60a), with an alternative for Easter:
7. Mark 16, in its entirety (fol. 60a–61a).

The Psalm verses and readings from Hebrews and Acts have apparently been chosen for the sole reason that either Moses and Aaron or the latter alone appear in these passages. In the Acts passage, from the speech of the Protomartyr Stephen, the reference is even to an episode (Exod. 32:1–7) that hardly does honour to the biblical Aaron.

The other lessons have been selected in a less mechanical way, however. The first Gospel reading contains the Sermon of the Mount, quoted no less than nine times in the *Life of Aaron*, but most prominently in the miracle stories of the camel's leg (44) and the poor man and the rich man (111).<sup>95</sup> The chapter from Mark is clearly an alternative reading in case the celebration of the festival of Aaron, on 4 May, would collide with the celebrations of Eastertide. Accordingly, it describes the events of Easter morning, but ensues to recount the mission of the eleven by Jesus with the promise of the miracles that will accompany the believers (Mark 16:17–18), a passage that would have vividly recalled the many miracles performed by Aaron. Finally, Jas. 5:16, 'the prayer of the righteous is very powerful and effective', is quoted in 21, but serves in particular as the formal conclusion of the second miracle of the Nile inundation in 135.<sup>96</sup> These readings, therefore, bear witness to the liturgical reception of

92 Text in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 496–502.

93 Antiphon sung before the Apostle reading corresponding to the Latin gradual; cf. F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western. Vol. 1: Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896) 601; U. Zanetti, 'La liturgie dans les monastères de Shenoute', *BSAC* 53 (2014) 167–224 at 209.

94 The title bears an annotation πeqχno 'his (or, its) descent, offspring', most likely prescribing a particular mode or melody.

95 See below, p. 48, with p. 51 for the rhetorical function of the latter quote.

96 See comm. on 135, πcοπcī ... qεμερεi.

the *Life* and carefully situate the ministry of Aaron the miracle worker in the perspective of the New Testament.

## 2.5 *The Colophon of Or. 7029*

In addition to the text's liturgical setting, the most direct context for the transmission of the *Life of Aaron* is provided by the extensive subscriptions of codex Or. 7029 at fol. 76a–77a. Since the edition of the colophon and the two secondary subscriptions by Arnold van Lantschoot (1889–1969) offers a generally reliable and complete text, only a new translation is given here, together with a brief and selective commentary.<sup>97</sup>

The colophon proper consists of five sections numbered A–E by Van Lantschoot.<sup>98</sup> Even though these five sections are separated by ornamental lines and use two different linguistic codes (Greek and Sahidic Coptic), they were clearly conceived as a single colophon. They are written in a uniform hand, in the same style of handwriting, late sloping uncials of the so-called colophon type, and are brought to a close by a more elaborate decorative device below E. This colophon is followed by two further subscriptions (Van Lantschoot's units F and G), which are apparently reader's notes written by two different and less elegant hands in the blank space below E (fol. 77a). The scribe of F started out in Greek, but after the single word ἐγώ continued on a new line and switched to Coptic.

(A, Coptic)<sup>99</sup>

+ Through the zeal and solicitude of the most pious deacon whose name God knows, he provided for this capital book from his own means. He commissioned it and donated it to the *topos* of Apa Aaron in the desert of Edfu, so that the God of the blessed righteous one, Apa Aaron, the Patriarch and apostle-like Archbishop Athanasius and the Archangel Michael might bless our devout and charitable brother with all kinds of perfect spiritual blessing, just as he (i.e. God) blessed our fathers, the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, through whom all the nations were enlightened, and might deliver and save him from all the wiles of the

97 Edition, without translation: Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 197–200; 2, 79–80 (no. 113), replacing the earlier, incomplete one by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 523–525 (translation at pp. 1032–1033), with Pls XXXVI–XXXVIII.

98 As the lower margin of fol. 76a is torn, it cannot be excluded that Van Lantschoot's B and C should be read as consecutive text. Yet comparison with other colophons by members of the same family of copyists suggests that Van Lantschoot was right in reading them as two separate entries.

99 Section A opens with a cross, not a staurogram, as printed in Van Lantschoot's edition.

Devil and the plotting of evil men and strengthen him in his perseverance and that, after the celebration of this festival,<sup>100</sup> the saints whom he commemorated might intercede for him with their king, Christ, and he might be made worthy to hear the voice full of all joy and gladness, saying: ‘Come, blessed ones of my Father, and inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the foundation of the world’ (Matt. 25:34). Amen, amen, so be it, amen, amen.

(B, Greek-Coptic)

Written in the month Epeiph, the 20th, (in the year) since Diocletian 708, since [the Saracens 382] (= 14 July 992).

(C, Greek)

The most humble Diomedes, son of the blessed Archdeacon Joseph. Pray for me, a sinner.

(D, Coptic)

Remember me with charity, my fathers and brothers. I humbly beg that you beseech the Lord for me that he may forgive me a small part of my sins, for they are very numerous, and that he may guide me henceforth according to his holy and blessed wish, me this most humble Zokrator, the son of the blessed Archdeacon Joseph from the city of Esna—O Lord, grant him rest, and that you (plur.) too forgive me all my blunders, for my understanding is not perfect but I am learning from the masters. I humbly beg, be so kind to forgive me.

(E, Coptic)

When we had written this book, in this very year 708, of the Saracens 382 (AD 992),<sup>101</sup> a great miracle took place concerning the inundation of the

100 The interpretation of the phrase  $\text{ⲙⲏⲛⲥⲁ ⲑⲉⲓⲡⲱⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲁ}$ , literally ‘after the subject (ὑπόθεσις) of this festival’ is not obvious. The scribe, as Van Lantschoot observed, corrected  $\text{ⲱⲁ}$  out of a word starting with  $\text{ⲃⲓ}$ . Perhaps he wanted to write  $\text{ⲃⲓⲟⲥ}$  ‘the subject of this biography’. The traces of the underlying letters are not clear, however, and  $\text{ⲙⲏⲛⲥⲁ}$  has a temporal meaning. Conjecturally, we assume that  $\text{ὑπόθεσις}$  is used here as a posh word for ‘celebration’. As the copied book allowed for the proper liturgical commemoration (the ‘festival’) of the saints to whom it is dedicated, they should afterwards intercede for the donor.

101 The Hijra date (to be supplied accordingly in section B) clearly reads  $\overline{\text{ⲩⲱⲃⲉ}}$  (382). Instead of an  $\text{ⲱ}$ , impossible in this position, the second digit represents the ‘cursive’ cipher for 80 ( $\text{ⲱ}$ ), as was already suggested by Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 2, 80 (n. 11), which

river Nile. On 15 Mesore (8 August) it was assessed for us at a cubit height. Afterwards, it dropped until it had fallen two cubits in height. Through the prayers, then, which the mistress of us all, Saint Mary, offers for us, God visited us and through his mercy towards us [ - - - ] of Mesore [ - - - ] from the first of Mesore (25 July) until 19 Thoth (16 September) and it poured forth from the sources of Apa Chrysaphius and filled all three. Great joy arose and gladness overtook the sons of man. Lord, grant us life and prosperity for another multitude of years! Amen.

(F, Coptic)

Me.

Remember me with charity, my fathers and brothers! May everyone who reads from this book beseech God in my favour, that he may set me free<sup>102</sup> and give knowledge to me, Cosmas, the son of the deacon Apatēr of (the church of) Saint Mercurius in the city of Esna. Amen and amen.

(G, Coptic)

+ I, Mercurius, his [ - - - ].

As the colophon shows (in section A), an anonymous donor, himself a deacon, endowed a shrine (*topos*) of Saint Aaron near Edfu with the *Life* of its patron saint. The donor may have had a particular devotion for Aaron, who perhaps was his patron saint, and/or may have served the shrine in question. Its situation 'in the desert of Edfu' favours the interpretation of this *topos* as a monastery, appropriately named after a holy anchorite, Aaron. About this monastery, no other information appears to be available.<sup>103</sup>

If the colophon does not reveal the identity of the donor, a deacon who wished to remain anonymous, it does acquaint us with a small dynasty of scribes and deacons from tenth-century Esna to whom we owe at least two other preserved codices, British Library Or. 7022 and 7023.<sup>104</sup> Or. 7023 was

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is slightly confusing, though, as he at first seems to accept the entirely arbitrary emendation by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 524 of the numeral to  $\overline{\text{TOB}}$ , as does Layton, *Catalogue*, 198. There is no conflict, therefore, between the Hijra date and the Diocletian date, and the completion of our manuscript can be assigned with certainty to 14 July 992. Thus correctly already Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 229 (n. 20).

102 Van Lantschoot prints  $\text{NEQTAL\epsilon IT} \cdot \text{EBOL}$ , but the manuscript clearly has  $\text{NEQTAL\epsilon IT EBOL}$ , which can only be a form of  $\text{† EBOL}$ .

103 It is incorrectly quoted in Timm 3.1152.

104 Layton, *Catalogue*, 165–167 (no. 144), 186–188 (no. 158).

copied in AD 960 by Joseph, the son of Sisinnios, both without stated titles.<sup>105</sup> Or. 7022 was completed on 7 April 981 by the same Joseph, who is now called a 'most humble deacon'. His father Sisinnios, who apparently had died meanwhile, is honoured as 'archdeacon of the cathedral church of Saint John the Baptist in the city of Esna'.<sup>106</sup> Joseph's son, Zokrator, likewise a deacon, contributed a brief prayer to the colophon,<sup>107</sup> perhaps as a sign that he had assisted his father in the production of the manuscript (see below).

The present manuscript, copied in 992, is signed by two sons of the scribe Joseph: in addition to Zokrator, who was already active in 981, now also his brother Diomedes (sections D and C). Joseph had died between 981 and 992, after having been raised to the rank of archdeacon, just like his father. It is not fully clear whether the prayer for Diomedes in the present colophon (section C) implies that the two brothers had been collaborating on the manuscript. In light of the similar addition by Zokrator to the colophon of the earlier manuscript Or. 7022 (above) and the first person plural used in the beginning of section E, this seems highly likely, however. Both the principal texts of the manuscript and its colophon display a uniform handwriting throughout, but since highly formal types of script are used, individual differences in handwriting can hardly be expected. Both scribes, moreover, must have learned their trade in the same workshop, most likely from their father Joseph. The apologies of Zokrator in section D, who modestly claims to be a mere beginner, 'learning from the masters', are entirely conventional.

From these colophons, the picture emerges of a scriptorium run by a family of deacons attached to the church of Saint John the Baptist, the cathedral of Esna.<sup>108</sup> Their intermittent use of Greek, in addition to Coptic, in the colophons

<sup>105</sup> Thus after Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 205 (no. 116B), with his correct reading of the Hijra date (*pace* Layton, *Catalogue*, 187). See the discussion of the date in L. Roig Lanzilotta, 'The Coptic Ms. Or. 7023 (Partly, Layton 158): An Assessment of Its Structure and Value', *Muséon* 119 (2006) 25–32 at 26–27, and 'The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* in Ms Or. 7023', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Leuven, 2007) 158–197 at 161–162.

<sup>106</sup> Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 186 (no. 108C), cf. p. 187 (no. 109). He is unlikely to be the same person as the Sisinnios, son of the late shipowner Philotheos, who according to the colophon donated another manuscript (Or. 7028, 6780; Layton, *Catalogue*, 194–196 [no. 162]) to the church of the Holy Archangel Gabriel in the same city of Esna in February 974. For the colophon, see Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 182–184 (no. 107). This second Sisinnios, who receives no titles, employs a different scribe, a certain John, son of Collouthos, and endows another church than the cathedral served by his namesake.

<sup>107</sup> Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 186 (no. 108D).

<sup>108</sup> For Esna as a bishopric in this period, see Timm 3.1184–1186; for the church of Saint John the Baptist, 3.1187–1188.

and the posh Greek names of Zokrator and Diomedes undoubtedly reflect the intellectual ambitions of the family.<sup>109</sup> The signatures C and D and the reader's note of section F underline the strong ties between Esna and Edfu in this period, as do several other colophons that belong to the Esna-Edfu collection of manuscripts.

Section E of the colophon, regrettably much damaged, relates a miracle concerning the Nile inundation, for which we follow the interpretation proposed by Van Lantschoot.<sup>110</sup> After the civil authorities had already established the height of the inundation for taxation purposes on 15 Mesore (8 August),<sup>111</sup> it started to drop dramatically. Thanks to the prayers of the Holy Virgin, it then began to rise again to reach a satisfactory level for the entire period until 19 Thoth (16 September), two days after the Festival of the Holy Cross, celebrated on 17 Thoth, when according to tradition the Nile stopped rising.<sup>112</sup> As Van Lantschoot first envisaged, the enigmatic triple 'sources of Apa Chrysaphius' may be connected with traditional ideas about the inundation rising from caverns or wells situated most notably in the Cataract region but also elsewhere.<sup>113</sup> A Theban ostrakon mentions a *Life of Apa Chrysaphius the Nubian* (πνβιος ναπτα

109 The name Zokrator is elsewhere only attested, as Ζωγκρατωρ, on an eighth-century Greek papyrus from Aphrodito, *P.Lond.* IV 1468 descr., see Trismegistos People, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 29561; *NB Kopt.* s.v. The name Diomedes (spelled here [Δ]ιομήτης) occurs regularly in Greek documents until the fourth century, and then in Coptic as ΔΙΟΜΗΤΗΣ only in some papyri from Deir el-Bala'izah, *P.Bal.* 293.4, 5, 13, 295.4, 303b.6, see Trismegistos People, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 2796; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

110 Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 2, 80 (n. 12). Similarly, Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 229.

111 In early nineteenth-century Cairo this took place generally between 1 and 11 Mesore (then corresponding to 6–16 August): E.W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, -34 and -35* (London, s.a.) 455–456; cf. pp. 453–462, for the various customs surrounding the Nile inundation in Cairo in his day in general; likewise A. Hermann, 'Der Nil und die Christen', *JbAC* 2 (1959) 30–69 at 51; for the traditional background of the date of 1 Mesore, see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil. Divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire* (332 av.–641 ap. J.-C.) (Paris, 1964) 354.

112 For the Festival of the Holy Cross on 17 Thoth and the Nile inundation, see Lane, *Account of the Manners and Customs*, 462; Hermann, 'Nil und die Christen', 46–47; Bonneau, *Crue du Nil*, 443 (n. 3).

113 Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 2, 80 (n. 14). Cf. B.H. Stricker, *De overstroming van de Nijl* (Leiden, 1956) 18–19; Hermann, 'Nil und die Christen', 47; Bonneau, *Crue du Nil*, 171–172. Another text from the same Esna-Edfu collection of manuscripts, the *Mysteries of Saint John*, in Or. 7026, fol. 3a–b (ed. E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London, 1913] 60–61), for which see Layton, *Catalogue*, 190–192 (no. 160), also preserves lightly Christianized traditional ideas about the origins of the Nile inundation.

χρσαφιος πεσω), otherwise unknown.<sup>114</sup> If the same Chrysaphius is meant, we may have a local saint here, perhaps of Nubian descent, who was venerated in southernmost Upper Egypt. In any case, the story told in section E of the colophon voices a perennial concern about the Nile inundation that is vividly echoed in the miracle stories of the *Life of Aaron*, in particular 131 and 132–134.

Finally, the first and more complete of the two reader's notes, Van Lantschoot's F, is addressing future users of the codex with a request for prayer. The phrasing of the request, which seeks to obtain knowledge for its author, suggests that the latter, Cosmas, was a reader addressing fellow-readers. Interestingly, Cosmas was the son of a deacon of the church of Saint Mercurius in Esna. This church was the seat of another scriptorium, which provided no less than six of the manuscripts that make up the Esna-Edfu collection, all destined for churches or monasteries in or near Edfu. The subscription of Cosmas confirms the status of Esna as a local centre of learning in the tenth and eleventh centuries and its importance for the religious institutions of Edfu further south.

## 2.6 Conclusions

The textual tradition of the *Life of Aaron* is quite meagre. Yet its two manuscripts, one of which survives in some tiny fragments only, have a story to tell. They attest a strongly localized transmission, centred on the monasteries of Edfu, one of which was dedicated to the anchorite Aaron, and the medieval scriptoria of Esna. While a broader cultural assessment of the so-called Esna-Edfu collection of manuscripts, through which the *Life of Aaron* is transmitted, remains to be undertaken, it is clear that the ensemble betrays considerable Nubian influence and bears a definite liturgical stamp. The *Life of Aaron*, as preserved in Or. 7029, is embedded in the cult of Aaron, for which we have evidence—through the manuscript's colophon—from the monastery near Edfu that bore his name and—through a wall painting and its legend—from the cathedral of Faras, in northern Nubia. Appended to the text in Or. 7029 is the liturgical formulary for the festival of Aaron as it was observed in any case in his Edfu monastery, but most likely in the wider region as well. Compared to the earlier fragments, the text itself of Or. 7029 also bears the stamp of liturgical use. This affected both its form, which shows the indubitable traces of textual engineering, and its visual presentation, marked by the systematic introduc-

114 *O.Crum* 459 r° 7, a list of books and household utensils; cf. H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York, 1926) 202. Attestations of the personal name Chrysaphios are extremely rare, but known from Thebes (*O.Crum* 317 v° 1) and Aswan (*SB Kopt.* 1 534.5, where read χρσαφιος). See Trismegistos People, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 12932; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

tion of word (or word-group) separation. The text's transmission shows how the Late Antique *Life of Aaron*, with its strong focus on local historiography and the commemoration of local holy men, continued to fulfill its function until well into medieval times.

### 3 Language and Orthography

The language of the *Life of Aaron* as edited here is an overall correct and standard literary Sahidic, in as far as the term 'standard' can be applied to Sahidic Coptic.<sup>115</sup> It is idiomatic, lively and generally clear. If the present text would be a translation from Greek, there is nothing in the style, grammar or vocabulary that could serve to substantiate such an hypothesis. At the same time, the single complete manuscript at our disposal represents a fairly late witness, copied in a geographically outlying part of Egypt, exposed to Nubian political and most likely also cultural influence.<sup>116</sup> As our discussion of the manuscript tradition and the colophon shows, the text edited below was roughly four centuries old when it was copied in the Summer of 992 by a member or, more probably two members, of a family of scribes and deacons from Esna, in southern Egypt. In fact, the manuscript represents the final stage of the text's transmission and dates from a period of broad societal language shift, not long before the definitive Arabization of Egyptian literary culture and the enforced adoption of Bohairic by the Coptic Church.<sup>117</sup> In the same period, written Sahidic Coptic itself, as it is attested by non-literary sources, underwent profound changes.<sup>118</sup> Seen against this background, the Sahidic of the text of the *Life of Aaron* as it is preserved in our principal manuscript can only be qualified as excellent. It shows that, even shortly before the wholesale language shift to Arabic and

115 Literary Coptic, even biblical Sahidic, is far less standardized than modern grammars tend to suggest; see the cautionary remarks in A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic* (Rome, 1986) 2. For the weak degree of standardization of Coptic, compared to Greek, see furthermore E.D. Zakrzewska, "A Bilingual Language Variety" or "the Language of the Pharaohs"? Coptic from the Perspective of Contact Linguistics', in E. Grossman et al. (eds), *Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic: Contact-Induced Change in an Ancient African Language* (Hamburg, 2017) 115–161, esp. pp. 141, 144 and 148.

116 See above, pp. 14–15.

117 For this double language shift, see J. van der Vliet, 'Coptic Documentary Papyri after the Arab Conquest', *JJP* 43 (2013) 187–208 at 200–208.

118 See T.S. Richter, 'Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet 11: Die Rechtsurkunden des Teschlot-Archivs', *JJP* 20 (2000) 95–148 at 98–102.



Bohairic, the social milieu that produced expensive liturgical manuscripts such as the present one took great pains to maintain and transmit an artificial linguistic standard, that of Late Antique literary Sahidic.

The general background sketched above—the time and place of origin of our principal manuscript, the age of the text and the artificiality of the idiom—is almost exclusively apparent in a certain instability of the orthography. The following paragraphs are therefore mainly concerned with the *minutiae* of spelling, hardly with syntax or morphology. They do not pretend to offer a grammar of the text nor a detailed comparison of the language of our manuscript with that of the other manuscripts from the Esna-Edfu hoard, not even those copied by the same family of scribes. Both undertakings would require an entirely different study. Here we will discuss only those distinctive features of the language of the text or, rather, its principal manuscript that we consider of interest. For the elucidation of single problematic words and phrases, the reader is referred to our commentary.

### 3.1 Syntax

The *aorist* (or habitual) has throughout the text its normal generalizing and habitual interpretation.<sup>119</sup> Only once, in 56, is the affirmative aorist used as a future tense, as is frequent in documents from Thebes as well as in many literary texts, though here with a clear deontic modality: ‘what the archdeacon says shall happen (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ)’.<sup>120</sup> In 92, the negative (ⲙⲉⲣⲉ) most likely expresses Aaron’s certitude that the (fictitious) brother will not let him go before the end of the week.

In addition to a range of well-known standard usages, illustrated in any Coptic grammar, the *conjunctive* occurs in our text in a few less well attested or even rare contexts that are summed up here, without attempting an in-depth analysis.<sup>121</sup>

119 For which see C.H. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian (Sahidic Dialect): A Learner’s Grammar* (Cologne, 2004) 276–278; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §337. Since these grammars use a different terminology, throughout this book we will first refer to Layton’s term and then to the equivalent one in Reintges.

120 Cf. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 278, and the various examples in M. Green, *The Coptic share Pattern and Its Ancient Egyptian Ancestors. A Reassessment of the Aorist Pattern in the Egyptian Language* (Warminster, 1987) 65–88.

121 Important studies of the conjunctive are Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 185–214, and C.R. Reintges, ‘Coordination, Converbs and Clause Chaining in Coptic Egyptian: Typology and Structural Analysis’, in I. Brill (ed.), *Clause Linking and Clause Hierarchy: Syntax and Pragmatics* (Amsterdam, 2010) 203–265. Grammars: L. Stern, *Koptische Gram-*

3.1.1 As the Argument Clause (or Verbal Complement) of Certain Verbs, Most Often as the Equivalent of an Infinitival Clause or a  $\chi\epsilon$  Clause<sup>122</sup>

Thus it expands the verbs  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$  ‘to ask, beg’ (124,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \mu\eta\omicron\upsilon \eta\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\beta\acute{\eta} \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\rho(\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron)\varsigma \epsilon\chi\omega\eta$  ‘ask him to pray to Christ for us’; contrast 109,  $\alpha\iota\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \mu\eta\omicron\upsilon \chi\epsilon \gamma\rho\omega \eta\eta\tau$  ‘I have begged him, “Be patient”’, and  $\tau\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\eta\tau\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\beta \epsilon\tau\rho\kappa\tau\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta \eta\alpha\gamma \eta\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\chi\epsilon \mu\eta\omicron\iota$  ‘I beg your Holiness to send him a message that he may have patience with me’);  $\varsigma\omicron\pi\iota\varsigma\tau$  ‘to beg, entreat’ (121,  $\omega\upsilon\epsilon \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \eta\eta\mu \epsilon\omega\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\pi\eta\eta \mu\pi\eta\eta\gamma\tau\epsilon \eta\varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\pi\bar{\eta} \eta\eta\varsigma\omega\beta\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\beta \eta\varsigma\iota\chi$  ‘for it is fitting for all Christians to go to the house of God early in the morning to entreat him that he guides the work of their hands’; contrast 28,  $\alpha\iota\varsigma\tau\omega\pi\bar{\eta} \epsilon\tau\rho\bar{\eta}\chi\omega \epsilon\rho\text{'}\omicron\text{'}\eta \eta\eta\eta\eta\tau\alpha\eta\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$  ‘I begged him to tell me about the things that he had seen’);  $\varsigma\gamma\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon$  ( $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omega$ ) ‘to signify, inform’ (5,  $\eta\varsigma\gamma\mu\alpha\eta\epsilon \dots \eta\tau\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\omega\gamma\omega\eta\eta\eta$  ‘it [= the word] signifies ... that we should ignore them’);  $\gamma\omicron\varsigma\epsilon$  ‘to be hard, difficult’ (42,  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta \gamma\omicron\varsigma\epsilon \eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$  [for  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ])  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  ‘our names are hard for you to utter’; see our comm. ad loc. and contrast 91,  $\pi\epsilon\iota\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma \gamma\omicron\omicron\varsigma\epsilon \eta\chi\omicron\kappa\bar{\eta} \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  ‘this way of life is hard to accomplish’).

Here also the phrase  $\eta\eta\tau\alpha\gamma \lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \mu\eta\alpha\gamma \eta\eta\beta\beta\iota\omega \eta\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omicron\theta\omicron\beta\omicron\gamma$  (ms.  $\eta\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\beta\omicron\gamma$ )  $\eta\alpha\kappa$  ‘they have nothing in exchange to repay you’ (133, after Luke 14:14) may be mentioned, where the New Testament text has  $\eta\eta\tau\alpha\gamma \mu\eta\alpha\gamma \epsilon\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon \eta\alpha\kappa$  (which calques the Greek).

3.1.2 As an ‘Apodotic’ Conjunctive<sup>123</sup>

Examples include, in 24,  $\epsilon\eta\omega\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma \epsilon\tau\gamma\iota\beta\omicron\lambda \eta\tau\eta\varsigma\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon \eta\eta \eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\eta$  ‘whenever we go into the outer desert, we celebrate the Eucharist together with the brothers’;<sup>124</sup> and in 116,  $\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\iota \epsilon\eta\epsilon$  (ms.  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ )  $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa \pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota\mu\pi\omega\alpha \eta\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha \epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\eta\eta\eta\alpha \gamma\alpha \tau\alpha\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\beta\iota\eta\eta \tau\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omicron$  ‘If only I would have been worthy to meet him, he would have shown mercy on my misery and I would have been healed’.

*matik* (Leipzig, 1880) 273–284 (§ 440–449); Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 295–308; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 351–356.

122 See in particular Reintges, ‘Coordination’, 253–256; cf. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 212–214; Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 300–301.

123 Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 206–207.

124 Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 307–308, and Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 356 both give this very sentence as an example.

### 3.1.3 In an Either-Or Clause with *н ... н*

In 4, *н н̄μερε ογα н н̄μεστε ογα* ‘either he loves one or he hates another’, where the New Testament source text (Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13) has *н γαρ νημεστε ογα νημερε ογα* ‘for he will either hate one and love another ...’, with a *να*-future in the first member of the clause (the Greek has future tenses in both members).<sup>125</sup>

### 3.1.4 Following a Question in the Present Negative (Negative First Present)

In 121, Aaron asks the negligent fishermen (as he did earlier in a damaged passage in 119): *н̄тет̄н̄бн̄к̄ а̄н̄ е̄те̄к̄κ̄л̄н̄с̄ӣа̄ м̄п̄но̄ӯт̄е̄ н̄тет̄н̄па̄ра̄ка̄л̄е̄ӣ м̄мо̄q̄ н̄̄р̄ п̄на̄ н̄̄м̄н̄т̄н̄ н̄̄т̄н̄ка̄ т̄н̄γ̄т̄н̄ е̄тет̄н̄ϣ̄а̄а̄т̄ н̄ла̄а̄γ̄* ‘Do you not go to the church of God in order to entreat him that he will show you mercy and not let you be in need of anything?’ The conjunctive does not as a rule expand a present tense main clause<sup>126</sup> and in the present case invites an interpretation as an adverbial purpose clause (which is reflected in our translation).<sup>127</sup>

### 3.1.5 Expanding a Past Negative (Negative Perfect)

Although narrative past tenses cannot as a rule be expanded by the conjunctive,<sup>128</sup> this clearly does not hold for the past negative. In 93, the demons ask the insidious question: *ε̄т̄βε̄ о̄γ̄ м̄πε̄q̄χ̄ῑт̄к̄ н̄т̄ок̄ н̄̄χ̄ӣ с̄мо̄ӯ н̄̄т̄н̄ п̄с̄он̄ ε̄т̄н̄ма̄γ̄* ‘Why has he not taken you with him to receive a blessing from that brother?’ (note the switch of subject in the Coptic). In 109, the poor debtor complains: *м̄пе̄ῑзе̄ е̄ро̄о̄ӯ н̄та̄{γ̄}та̄а̄γ̄ на̄q̄* ‘I have not found the means to pay him (= the creditor) back’. Both these conjunctive clauses, and in particular the second one, could be interpreted as adverbial purpose clauses (in line with the previous example, under 3.1.4). This does not work, however, for the two other examples (actually twice the same phrase), 66 and 131, which both narrate, in practically the same words, the consequences of a failing Nile inundation: *ᾱс̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ δ̄ε̄ н̄о̄γ̄ρο̄м̄πε̄ м̄πε̄ та̄на̄β̄ᾱс̄ӣс̄ ω̄ω̄πε̄ н̄те̄ н̄с̄ω̄ω̄ε̄ т̄н̄ро̄ӯ χ̄ӣ м̄о̄о̄ӯ ᾱλλᾱ з̄ε̄н̄ко̄ӯӣ* ‘It happened one year that the inundation did not occur and not all the fields received water, but only a few’ (in 131: *ᾱс̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ δ̄ε̄ н̄о̄γ̄ρο̄м̄πε̄ м̄πε̄*

125 For *н ... н* clauses with the conjunctive, see in particular Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 210, who quotes a much similar example from Shenoute, and Reintges, ‘Coordination’, 249, quoting precisely Matt. 6:24.

126 Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 352.

127 For the ‘functional overlap between coordinated and adverbially subordinated conjunctive clauses’, see Reintges, ‘Coordination’, 256–259.

128 Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 352.

ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΘΩΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΩΩΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΙ ΜΟΟΥ). Here the conjunctive does not expand ΔΩΩΠΕ but unequivocally the past negative, ΜΠΕ ΤΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΘΩΠΕ, including negation maintenance,<sup>129</sup> as is confirmed by a later reference (in 66) to the earlier description: ΜΠΕ ΝΩΩΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΙ ΜΟΟΥ ‘not all of the fields have received water’.

### 3.1.6 Sentence Initial?

In 41, the scrambled quotation from 1 Cor. 14:32, ΝΤΕ ΝΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΙ ΕΧΩΤῆ ‘and the spirits of the prophets will come upon you’, is rather not an example of a sentence initial conjunctive,<sup>130</sup> but imported from the source text, which reads: ΟΥΝ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΕΤΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΤΗ ΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΧΕ ΕΥΕ-ΣΒΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΕΣΕΠΩΠΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΝΤΕ ΝΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ‘for it is possible that all of you prophesy one by one, so that all will be taught and all be consoled, and the spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets’ (1 Cor. 14:31–32). Note, however, that the Greek starts a new sentence in 14:32 with καὶ followed by a present indicative (‘And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets’).

### 3.2 Morphology: Non-Sahidic Forms?

Besides a number of orthographic features shared with other Esna-Edfu manuscripts and with sixth-eighth century documents from the Theban area, most notably vowel doubling (see below), non-Sahidic (‘dialectal’) forms are extremely rare. In 23, the limitative (terminative) ΘΑΤΕΥΕΝΤῆ ‘until he brought us’ is written without the Ν characteristic of Sahidic, as opposed to Akhmimic and, in particular, Bohairic.<sup>131</sup> In 52, an isolated ΤΩΝ (primarily an Akhmimic form) for ΤΩΟΥΝ could potentially be considered a way of differentiating the transitive ΤΩΟΥΝ ‘to carry’ from the intransitive—and more usual, unmarked—ΤΩΟΥΝ ‘to rise’ earlier in the sentence. However, both cases are probably better explained along phonetic lines: respectively as a drop of the Ν (weak in later Coptic; for further instances, see below) and a symptom of the confusion of the rounded back vowels Ο, Ω and ΟΥ (for which, see also below).

### 3.3 Pronominal Reference

Perhaps the most disturbing feature of our principal manuscript is the scribe’s extreme uncertainty in the selection of personal suffixes (suffixed bound per-

129 Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 189.

130 For which see Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 276–277 (§ 446); Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 303.

131 Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 283–284 (§ 449); Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 249, note a single Theban example.

sonal pronouns). In all cases where we have suspected the wrong selection of a personal pronoun we have corrected this in the text, while giving the reading of the manuscript in our apparatus. Our apparatus therefore provides a ready idea of the extent of the phenomenon. In the first ten paragraphs of our text, for instance, we have replaced a pronominal subject no less than four times, once an indirect object.

Although uncertainty over pronominal reference is also found in other manuscripts from the same milieu, for instance in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, copied by a member of the same family (in British Library Or. 7023), its scale here is unusual. The phenomenon is probably best explained by the nature of the text itself, with its many changes of narrative perspective (signalled in each case in the commentary) and the structural importance of multiple levels of reported speech (see the section ‘Structure and Narrative Levels’ below). The main principle governing the selection of a wrong pronoun appears to be a form of ‘structural priming’: the attitudes of the writer/speaker are formed by what is predominantly present in the immediate context and the mental adjustment needed to register a change of person is not always made in time.<sup>132</sup> A quite straightforward example can be found in the sentence in 8 starting with ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἔσταντες ὡς πρόβατα ‘He sent them out like sheep’, where the verbal subject is twice a third person masculine singular, Jesus himself (ἀφ' αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς-τῶν), so that for the third verb the scribe again chooses a third person masculine singular pronoun as its subject (ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ), instead of the third person plural that the text requires (ἐστὲν ὁμοῦ).

### 3.4 Orthography

As was noted above, our principal manuscript shows a certain orthographic instability that is easily explained in light of the indicated historical and geographical circumstances. It hardly affects the excellent standing of the text and no effort has been made to impose a necessarily artificial and arbitrary standard on our single manuscript. One orthographic feature, the frequent interchange of *ε* and *schwa*, is so common in Sahidic manuscripts from all periods and regions that it will not be separately discussed here.<sup>133</sup> The orthography of Greek loanwords is likewise subject to great diversity in all varieties

<sup>132</sup> According to V.S. Ferreira and K. Bock, ‘The Functions of Structural Priming’, *Language and Cognitive Processes* 21 (2001) 1011–1029 at 1012, structural priming ‘refers to speakers’ tendency to use current utterances that are similar in general form to sentences they have previously experienced’ (a reference that we owe to Ewa Zakrzewska).

<sup>133</sup> See e.g. P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, vol. 1 (London, 1954) 52–54 (§ 1a); Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 31–32.

of Sahidic. Our manuscript is no exception and shows variant spellings even within a single sentence or paragraph.<sup>134</sup>

### 3.5 *Vowel Doubling*

Vowel doubling is, in the words of W.E. Crum (1865–1944), ‘the most constant characteristic distinguishing the idiom in which the literary texts from Esne-Edfû are written’.<sup>135</sup> In the present manuscript, non-standard vowel doubling, that is, vowel duplication that does not follow the (artificial) standard of our grammars and dictionaries, occurs with *α*, *η* and *ο*, and only rarely with *ε*. Thus we find *ναιαατ* for *ναιατ* (49), *κελεελε* for *κελελε* (52), *νηογνηη* for *νηογνη* (71), *γιοομε* for *γιομε* (71). No instances of (non-standard) duplication of the *ω* or the glides (*ε*)*ι* and *ογ* appear to occur in the present text. A spelling like *חנוּוּג* (for *חנוּג*, 99) most likely reflects a doubling of a single /o/-like sound (see below).

Vowel doubling appears in an entirely unsystematic and unpredictable manner. Some frequent words such as *εματε* ‘very much’ and *μητε* ‘middle’ are usually, though not always, spelled *εμαατε* (also *μημαατε*) and *μηητε*, but for others the spelling is more varied. Thus *αζερατ* ‘to stand’, is usually spelled *ααζερατ* and repeatedly even *ααζεραατ* (for instance in 83: *εμεααζεραατ*), but *αζερατ* (following a noun phrase as subject) neighbours *εγααζερατογ* in 37. As vowel doubling appears to be typical of this southern variant of Sahidic, occurring already in the fragmentary earliest manuscript of the text (in 71),<sup>136</sup> we have neither endeavoured to ‘correct’ the orthography nor to make it look less inconsistent. Only rarely, when it seemed desirable in order to facilitate the understanding of the text, have vowel doublings been noted in our apparatus or commentary.

The inverse, a single vowel where a double vowel would be expected, hardly occurs. Thus *αγκοc̄* for *αγκοοc̄* in 54 (similarly *ντερογκοc̄* in 78); *αφ6ολτ̄*, in 40, besides *αφ6οολ̄* in the same paragraph.

### 3.6 *Uncertainty over /o/ Sounds*

Uncertainty over the quality of /o/ sounds or, more precisely, the rounded back vowels *ο*, *ω* and *ογ* is not only reflected in the orthography of Greek names and loanwords, as is common (compare here, in 29, 40 and 60, *ωντωc̄* for *οντωc̄*;

<sup>134</sup> For the spellings of Greek loanwords, we refer to Förster, *WB*, and, for the principles at work, Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 40–43.

<sup>135</sup> Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 242. See also Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 61 (§ 11).

<sup>136</sup> See comm. on 71, A: *ϥογαν* / B: *ϥογαν*.

69,  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\Delta\omicron\epsilon\iota$  besides  $\chi\iota[\rho\omicron]\Delta\omicron\epsilon\iota$ ),<sup>137</sup> but also in the spelling of indigenous words. It is frequent enough to be considered a characteristic of the language of our principal manuscript. We note the following instances, without claiming to be exhaustive:

### 3.6.1 o- $\omega$ Interchange

In non-literary texts, this phenomenon is common in all regions.<sup>138</sup> In our manuscript, it is sufficiently frequent to be connected with a weakened perception of the difference in quality between both vowels. In 40, for instance, we find  $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\Gamma$  as well as  $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\Gamma$  (for the forms  $\kappa\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\Gamma$  /  $\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\Gamma$ , see below). Other examples include: (o for  $\omega$ )  $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\zeta$  for  $\varsigma\omega\omicron\gamma\zeta$  (51),  $\tau\omicron\omega$  for  $\tau\omega\omega$  (70),  $\varsigma\omicron\lambda\pi$  for  $\varsigma\omega\lambda\pi$  (98, 103); ( $\omega$  for o)  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omega\eta$  for  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron\eta$  (2, 28),  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omega\gamma$  for  $\zeta\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$  (42),  $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\varphi\chi\omega\kappa\tilde{\varsigma}$  for  $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\varphi\chi\omicron\kappa\tilde{\varsigma}$  (60),  $\kappa\omega\omega\zeta$  for  $\kappa\omicron\omicron\zeta$  (90),  $\eta\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omega\omega\beta\omicron\gamma$ , right beside  $\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\beta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ , both for  $-\tau\omicron\omicron\beta\omicron\gamma$  (133, quoting Luke 14:14). In a number of cases, one might be inclined to consider the verbs with o for  $\omega$  in the infinitive as (erroneous) statives (for instance  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\zeta$  for  $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\zeta$ , 111), but since stative forms for the infinitive are otherwise found only once ( $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$  for  $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$  in 11), this is an unlikely explanation.

### 3.6.2 o $\gamma$ - $\omega$ Interchange

This is a phenomenon frequently encountered in Upper Egyptian Coptic, including the manuscripts from the Esna-Edfu hoard.<sup>139</sup> In our manuscript, we find o $\gamma$  for  $\omega$ , the vocative marker, in 8, 36 and 63;  $\zeta\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma$ , for  $\zeta\lambda\lambda\omega$ ,<sup>140</sup> in 35 (twice), 36 and 53; and  $\eta\beta\omicron\gamma\zeta\epsilon$  for  $\eta\beta\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta\epsilon$ , in 119.

Occasionally, the o $\gamma$  merges with adjacent o/ $\omega$ . Thus, if our explanation holds, in  $\tau\omega\eta$  for  $\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$  (in 52) and  $\zeta\eta\omega$  for  $\zeta\eta\omega$  o $\gamma$ ( $\epsilon$ )o $\gamma$  (in 1),<sup>141</sup> as well as in  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\omega$  for  $\zeta\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\omega$  ‘wolves’ (in 8).<sup>142</sup> In  $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\zeta\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\tilde{\tau}$ , for  $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\rho\tilde{\tau}$  (36, for the intrusive p, see below), and  $\eta\epsilon\tau\varsigma\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\rho\tilde{\tau}$ , for  $\eta\epsilon\tau\varsigma\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron\rho\tilde{\tau}$  (120), the group -o $\gamma$ o- merges into the single vowel o $\gamma$ .

One may note here a single case of o for o $\gamma$ :  $\mu\omicron\lambda\tilde{\epsilon}$ , in 13. In 43,  $\zeta\beta\omicron\omicron\rho$  for  $\zeta\beta\omicron\gamma\rho$  was corrected by the scribe.

<sup>137</sup> Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 41.

<sup>138</sup> Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 82 (§ 44), 90 (§ 61).

<sup>139</sup> Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 121–122; Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 241; Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 90–91 (§ 62).

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Crum, *Dict.* 669b–670a.

<sup>141</sup> For this reconstruction, see comm. ad loc.

<sup>142</sup> Cited by W.H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds* (Ann Arbor, 1934) 118 as a southern regionalism; cf. Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 242; see also our discussion of the labials below.

### 3.7 *Variation Affecting Labials*

The spelling **β** for the glide **ογ**, considered a common feature of the Esna-Edfu manuscripts by W.H. Worrell (1879–1952),<sup>143</sup> occurs only twice in our text: in 88, **αιοβτῆ** for **αιοογτῆ**,<sup>144</sup> and in 119, **νβογζε** for **νογωζε**. Inversely, we find **ογερταγ** for **ογερταβ** in 136. Similarly, the interchange **ϕ-β**, ubiquitous in all varieties of Sahidic, is found here only in 71, **νταγκεεϕε** (cf. earlier in the same paragraph **[αγ]κοοβεϕ**), and 104, **ακβοσΊ**, a common spelling for **ακγοσΊ**.

Labial ‘cumul’ (**ογβ** for **β**), otherwise quite common in the Esna-Edfu manuscripts,<sup>145</sup> appears only in 40: **αφογβοϣτ** ... **αφογβοϣΊ** (for **αφβοϣτ** ... **αφβοϣΊ**). The spelling **ζαγβογλων**, for **ζαβογλων**, in 3,<sup>146</sup> may reflect the same phenomenon.

An initial **ογ** is added in **νῳογωμΊ** for **νῳωμΊ**, in 131.<sup>147</sup> Inversely, omission of **ογ** after another **ογ**, as is almost standard in **ζν ογ(ογ)ωνε εβολ** ‘openly, publicly’ (here for example in 66, in both manuscripts of this passage), is more common, thus **ῃπογ(ογ)εμ** (39), **ταρ(ογ)ογων** (62) or **εῖν ογ(ογ)ωωλε** (133). A number of these cases could qualify as an **ογ-ο/ω** merger (for which, see above). Somewhat singular is **εγαααβ** for **εγογααβ** (27), perhaps a mere slip.

In a seemingly similar case, **σenaτοβοογ** (for **σenaτοοβογ**, in 133) is better explained as a kind of *metathesis*, splitting up the cluster **-βογ**; cf. **αφογβοϣΊ** for **αφογβοϣΊ** (labial ‘cumul’, see above), that is, **αφβοϣΊ** (40), where the scribe got confused over the clustering of labials.

### 3.8 *Variation Affecting Velars*

Palatalization of the **κ** occurs in 115, where **κωβ** ‘to double’, is written **σωβ**, presumably under influence of the preceding noun **σινσωρ**. Other examples are **αφσω** (for **αφκω**) **ερα** in 139 and the quite common **νσ-** for **νκ-** in **νσῆτογ εβολ**, in 42.<sup>148</sup> In 117, **κκνααγ** is found for **κκνααγ**, with an interchange **κ-κ** that does occur a few times in Theban documents.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps also note, in our text, the unstable spelling **-νοκΊ/-νοκκΊ**, both from **νογκΊ** ‘to sprinkle’, and occurring together in 104, and the *metathesis* **μοκκΊ** (for **μοκκΊ**) in 129. **εκκε**

<sup>143</sup> Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 118–119.

<sup>144</sup> But cf. our commentary ad loc.

<sup>145</sup> Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 121; J. van der Vliet, ‘The Amulet P.Mil. Vogl.Copt. Inv. 22. Some Addenda’, *Journal of Coptic Studies* 7 (2005) 141–145 at 144.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. comm. ad loc.

<sup>147</sup> For which Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 242, cite a few Theban examples; in our analysis this would be a form of vowel doubling.

<sup>148</sup> See comm. on 42, **νενραν** ... **εβολ**.

<sup>149</sup> Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 243; cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 91 (§ 63b): ‘apparently not elsewhere’.



for ⲉϣⲗⲉ in 91 is perhaps rather an error due to ‘priming’ or assimilation.<sup>150</sup> Doubling of κ occurs in ⲓⲁⲕⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ (64) and ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲕⲁⲗϣ (138).<sup>151</sup> Finally, ϣ for κ, as in ⲙⲁⲣⲉ[ⲗⲟⲛⲓⲟⲥ] (60) and ⲣⲁⲓ ⲣⲁⲣ (107, by assimilation), is very common in Greek words and names.<sup>152</sup> No particular pattern seems to emerge from these variations.

### 3.9 Omission/Insertion of ⲛ

In a few cases only, prepositional ⲛ- is omitted, where it would be expected: ⲛⲓⲕⲱ ⲙⲛⲉⲧⲙ[ⲟ]ⲟϣⲧ (5, quoting Matt. 8:22), and ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲓⲱⲧⲛ ⲟϣⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲙⲟⲥ (27), both probably instances of simple haplography; note furthermore ⲉⲣⲟϣ(ⲛ) ⲉⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟ ⲙⲛⲕⲟⲟⲣ (130), ⲛⲣⲧ for ⲛⲣⲧⲛ (21), and ⲱⲁⲧⲉϣⲉⲛⲧⲛ for Sahidic ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϣⲉⲛⲧⲛ (23, where a few words later correct ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛⲛⲟⲓ is used). The inverse process, whereby the ⲛ is doubled, occurs in ⲙⲛⲛ (for ⲙⲛ, 37),<sup>153</sup> ⲁⲛⲛⲱⲛⲛⲁ (ⲁⲛⲛⲱⲛⲁ, 86) and ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲛⲟⲟϣⲉ (for ⲛⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟϣⲉ, 132). Both omission and duplication are the modest reflection of the loss of stress in the ⲛ in late Sahidic.<sup>154</sup> The writing ⲉⲓⲉ from ⲉⲛⲉ in 116 quite likely has the same background. A different case of insertion of the ⲛ is witnessed by ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲛⲧⲛ for ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲧⲛ in 132.<sup>155</sup>

### 3.10 Miscellaneous Orthographic Features

A few cases of *metathesis* seem to favour the ϣ, as is fairly common in all kinds of Coptic.<sup>156</sup> Thus in ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲓⲧ for ⲛⲉⲙⲣⲓⲧ (59), ⲟϣⲟⲣⲟⲣ for ⲟϣⲣⲟⲣ (63) or ⲗⲟⲣⲧ for ⲗⲟⲧⲣⲉ (read ⲗⲱⲧⲣⲉ, 105), but cf. also ⲙⲟⲕⲗⲧ̄ for ⲙⲟⲗⲕⲧ̄ (129, already quoted above).

In a number of cases, the ligature ⲑ is written ⲧⲑ, as in ⲉⲧⲑⲛⲛ (21; 65, twice) and ⲉⲧⲑⲟⲟϣ (119).<sup>157</sup>

The noun ⲕⲟϣⲛⲉ ‘bosom, lap’, shows forms with a secondary /o/ (ⲕⲟϣⲟⲛⲉ / ⲕⲟϣⲱⲛⲉ) in 40 (twice) and 69 (but cf. ⲉⲕⲟϣⲛⲉ̄, for ⲉⲕⲟϣⲛⲧ̄, in the same para-

<sup>150</sup> See comm. ad loc.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 246.

<sup>152</sup> Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 40.

<sup>153</sup> See further our comm. ad loc.

<sup>154</sup> See Richter, ‘Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden 11’, 99 and 101; for an example from an inscription, the mid-tenth century lintel of a deacon Severus from the Faiyum, J. van der Vliet, ‘Monumenta fayumica’, *Enchoria* 28 (2002/2003) 137–146 at 144 (repr. in English in idem, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London, 2018] 111–121 at 116–117).

<sup>155</sup> For which see Kahle, *Bala’izah* 1, 103–104 (§ 79a, under b).

<sup>156</sup> Kahle, *Bala’izah* 1, 149–150 (§ 127f, under a).

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 122; Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 246; Kahle, *Bala’izah* 1, 95 (§ 70).

graph; ms. A: [εκογ]ḿḡ), which seem to occur only in Esna-Edfu manuscripts and may therefore be considered a regionalism.<sup>158</sup> Given the common interchange of o, ω and ογ, discussed above, this could be analysed as yet another case of vowel doubling.

The verb αἰαἰ ‘to be advanced (in age)’, occurs as ααἰ in 28 (ακααἰ; contrast εαφαἰαἰ in 27), 54 (νεαφααἰ) and 137 (αφααἰ). Crum notes two occurrences of the present spelling in *P.KRU* 89.4 and 96.22 (Theban region).<sup>159</sup> The replacement of the first ι by a stop seems etymologically justified.<sup>160</sup>

Twice, forms of the verb αζογ ‘to curse’, ετςζογρῑ, the stative (36, for ετςζογρῑ), and νταγςζογερ, the bound (nominal) state (107), are provided with an intrusive, non-etymological ϑ, lacking in 120 (νετςζογρῑ, stative, for νετςζογρῑ); it is perhaps best explained by assimilation.

#### 4 Structure and Narrative Levels

The *Life of Aaron* can be divided into three sections: the first contains stories of the monks near Aswan (1–25), the second a legendary history of the first bishops of Philae (26–85) and the third a life of the main protagonist, Aaron (86–140). In the opening scene (1–3), Paphnutius, on a mission to hear the stories of the monks of southernmost Egypt, travels to the First Cataract region, where he is welcomed by Zaboulon and Pseleusius. Upon Paphnutius’ request, Pseleusius tells him the story of how he became a monk under his master John (4–9) and another one of how he once went into the inner desert and met Anianus and Paul, who in turn tell the story, similarly structured to Pseleusius’ first story, of their initiation into monasticism by their master Zachaeus (10–25).

When Pseleusius comes to speak about Isaac, Paphnutius and he decide to travel further south to an island in the middle of the Cataract to meet the holy man himself. Isaac receives them hospitably and, when Paphnutius asks him to, tells, again, two stories, which take in the remainder of the work (sections 2–3). He begins with a history of the early bishops of Philae, which his master Aaron had told him (26–28). In the story of the first bishop, Macedonius, his leading role in the conversion of the island to Christianity figures prominently (29–54). This is followed by the stories of his successors Mark (55–74), Isaiah (75–78) and Psoulousia (79–85), which all have the same structure.

158 Crum, *Dict.* 111b.

159 Crum, *Dict.* 1b.

160 Cf. W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1983) 5–6.

Isaac then moves on to his second story, which narrates the life of Aaron. He starts out with some words on the youth of the holy man, in particular how he became a monk, that he had heard from Aaron himself (86–88). He continues reminiscing his own experiences with Aaron, how he met him in the desert and was introduced by him to the monastic life, a passage that is similarly structured to Pseleusius' two stories in section 1 (89–97). A catalogue of seventeen miracles performed by Aaron follows, which each have the same basic outline (98–136). Isaac concludes his story by telling about Aaron's death, resembling the descriptions of the deaths of the bishops of Philae in section 2, and his burial beside the first three of them (137). In the epilogue, Paphnutius promises to write down what he has heard and, after having enjoyed a last meal with Isaac, travels back north (138–140).

As can be seen, the *Life of Aaron* was clearly conceived as a literary unity. The theme of the disciple initiated into monkhood by his master of section 1 returns in section 3, where Aaron's sanctity is particularly emphasized, for instance by adding the catalogue of miracles and a description of his death. His sanctity is further enhanced by connecting him to the early bishops of Philae in section 2. Not only is Aaron said to have told their story to Isaac, he also allegedly heard the account of the first one of them from Macedonius himself. Moreover, the description of Aaron's death evokes comparison with the death notices of the bishops of Philae in section 2, a comparison that is made explicit by his burial beside three of them.<sup>161</sup> As we shall see, a narratological analysis reinforces this image of structural unity even more.

In terms of narrative situation, the *Life of Aaron* closely resembles that of another travelogue preserved in Coptic, the *Life of Onnophrius*.<sup>162</sup> In both a certain Paphnutius travels to and reports about the ascetic life of monks, in

<sup>161</sup> Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 243–244.

<sup>162</sup> We are well aware that this text has been transmitted in various manuscripts, and in different dialects and languages. For a first assessment of its complex transmission history, see M. Malevez, 'La mission de Paphnuce. Premières recherches en vue de la constitution du dossier hagiographique des abba Onuphre, Paphnuce et Timothée', in C. Cannuyer (ed.), *Études coptes VIII* (Lille and Paris, 2003) 225–236. Pending a further, exhaustive study of the text, we will rely in the following on the complete Sahidic text edited by E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1914) 205–224. The Bohairic version edited by É.C. Amélineau, 'Voyage d'un moine égyptien dans le désert', *RecTrav* 6 (1885) 166–194 presents essentially the same text. We remain unconvinced by the arguments proposed by M. Malevez, 'Essai de datation relative des différentes versions de la *Mission de Paphnuce/Vie d'Onuphre* et des apophthegmes qui en sont à l'origine', in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, vol. 2 (Leuven, 2016) 1137–1146 to date the *Urtext* to the very end of the fourth century.

the case of the *Life of Onnophrius* in the inner desert, in the *Life of Aaron* in another marginal area, the region of the First Cataract, the border between Egypt and Nubia. Another commonality between both works is that they make use of embedded narrative or a tale within a tale, in which the holy men speak in their own voices.<sup>163</sup> In the *Life of Onnophrius* the situation is a bit different as another level of narration is laid on top of the main story that Paphnutius told to some anonymous monks from Scetis, namely that these brothers wrote it down and exhibited it in a church in Scetis after which the story is reported by the anonymous narrator, so that the story of Paphnutius is in principle told on the secondary level (each new level of narration is opened when a different narrator starts a new story).<sup>164</sup> Within that story there are three stories told in their own voices by Timothy, Onnophrius and four monks, which make up the tertiary level of narration.<sup>165</sup> The *Life of Aaron* is not presented as being written down by someone else as Paphnutius recounts the whole story on the primary level but does insert several stories of other monks. The narrative situation here is even more complex than the *Life of Onnophrius* with monks telling about what they in turn heard from other monks, and so on, up until the quaternary (fourth) level of narration.

The reason why such a surprising number of levels of narration are used in the *Life of Aaron* is explained in 26, which stands at the end of the two stories that Pseleusius tells Paphnutius but can be seen as a blueprint for the entire work:

ΕΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΑΝΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΑΧΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΗΝΗΖ ΓΙ ΠΧΑΙΕ,  
ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΟΤΗΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΗΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ  
ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ.

163 For embedded narrative in classical literature, see conveniently I. de Jong, *Narratology & Classics. A Practical Guide* (Oxford, 2014) 34–37. The study of narratology in Coptic literature is still in its infancy, though see e.g. E. Zakrzewska, 'The Hero, the Villain and the Mob: Topicality and Focality in Bohairic Narrative Discourse', *Lingua Aegyptia* 14 (2006) 325–346, and 'Masterplots and Martyrs: Narrative Techniques in Bohairic Hagiography', in F. Hagen et al. (eds), *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches* (Leuven, 2011) 499–523.

164 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a–b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223). On narrators and shifting narrative levels, De Jong, *Narratology & Classics*, 19–23.

165 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 3a–5b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 207–209: Timothy; briefly interrupted by a return to the conversation between Paphnutius and Timothy before the latter tells another story), fol. 6b–12a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 210–215: Onnophrius; twice interrupted at the end by a return to the conversation between Onnophrius and Paphnutius), and 17b–19a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 220–221: four monks; again briefly interrupted at the end).

Well then, my brother Paphnutius, we have told you these things about those who live in the desert, about those whom I have seen and heard as well as the recollection of their fathers whom they succeeded, and their perfection (in death).

As in the *Life of Onnophrius*, the actual words of the holy men about their ascetic practices are reported, thus authenticating their stories. Moreover, our work goes even further in that special emphasis is laid on the transmission of these stories from master to disciple, which is another way of enhancing their authority. For example, in Pseleusius' first story he reports about how he was initiated into monasticism by his master John, while in the second story he travels into the inner desert to hear the story of how Anianus and Paul were initiated into asceticism by their master Zachaeus. And, in a way, by telling these stories, Pseleusius himself acts as a master for the primary narrator Paphnutius.

Thus the function of these embedded narratives seems different from the ones listed by Irene de Jong for classical literature. For instance, the story of Amor and Psyche in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* can be seen as a mirror story, that is, a story that (thematically) reflects the main narrative. Qua form, with its multiple narrative levels, our work comes closest to frame narratives such as *Thousand and One Nights*, the *Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales*, or a *roman à tiroirs* such as *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse*.<sup>166</sup> Unlike these works, however, in which the stories are primarily aimed to entertain, in our case the author chose to work with multiple narrative levels to literally reflect the knowledge transfer from master to pupil, thereby authenticating the stories of the holy men as much as possible. It is this choice that sets our work apart from any other work in Coptic literature.

Let us now turn to a closer narratological analysis of the work, focusing on the way in which the narrative is presented and emphasizing the transitions between narrative levels as well as the problems that are encountered in these numerous switches (for a schematic overview of these switches, see Fig. 1).

As we have said, the entire story is framed by Paphnutius' primary narrative. However, this level is only 'active' at the beginning (1–3) and end of the text (138–140), as can be expected with a frame narrative, as well as at the start of Pseleusius' first story (4–7), the transition between his first and second story (10), the transition between Pseleusius' two stories and those of Isaac, and in particular his first story (26–28), the transition between Isaac's first and second story (86) and, specifically, the start of his personal experiences with

<sup>166</sup> De Jong, *Narratology & Classics*, 35.

Aaron (89), and the conclusion of Isaac's second story (137). The bulk of the text is narrated on the secondary level by Paphnutius' conversation partners Pseleusius (7–9, 11, 25) and Isaac (28, 31–39, 41–63, 68–85, 86–87, 89–136, 137). Let us now look at the most crucial passages.

After meeting Zaboulon and Pseleusius in the opening scene, Paphnutius takes the latter aside and they speak about Zaboulon (1–3). Upon Paphnutius' request, which is unfortunately partly lost in a lacuna, Pseleusius then starts telling his first story (4):

ΠΕΧΑΘ ΝΑ[Ι Ν]ΒΙ ΠΕΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΩΤΗ ΝΤΑΤΑΗ[ΟΚ.] ΜΥΧΙ ΝΑΘ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΦΜΝΤΒΡΡΕ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕΦΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ.

The old man said to me, 'Listen and I shall tell you'. He never took a wife for himself in his youth and made progress in every respect.

Having introduced his story, it looks like Pseleusius is going to tell the story of someone else, as the narrative voice changes from first to third person.<sup>167</sup> However, a few sentences later the 'he' is addressed in a vision as 'my brother Pseleusius', so that we must be dealing here with the story of the youth of Pseleusius. Despite the introductory formula, which suggests that we are moving to a secondary narrator, we thus remain in the primary narrative of Paphnutius, perhaps because it allows the author to include some praise of Pseleusius' virtues, such as his virginity from youth, which otherwise would have sounded strange out of his own mouth. The narrative level only switches to secondary in 7, where Pseleusius begins to relate about his experiences with his master John.

A second problem presents itself after Pseleusius has concluded his first story with John leaving Pseleusius in his own cell in 9. All previous scholars have interpreted the first words of the next paragraph, where the manuscript reads ΠΕΧΑΘ ΝΑΙ 'he said to me', as John starting to tell a story to Pseleusius, that is, on the tertiary level.<sup>168</sup> However, it is clear that Pseleusius is the narrator of the story, since in 11 when he has been kindly received by Anianus and Paul in the inner desert, he remembers 'my brother Zaboulon', with whom he is said to live together in 3, and to whom he decides to go back in 25 rather than stay with the two brethren. Rather than switching from secondary to tertiary level, then, we return to the primary narrative in 10. Hence we have corrected the text to ΠΕΧΑΙ

167 Cf. e.g. Orlandi and Campagnano, *Vite*, 72–73 (n. 4 and 6) who think that Pseleusius is beginning to talk here about his master John.

168 Orlandi and Campagnano, *Vite*, 75; Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 77; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 235.

ναϥ ‘I said to him’ (as noted in the section on ‘Language and Orthography’ above, there are many such errors in the text caused by the frequent switches of narrative level).<sup>169</sup> The correction results in the perfectly logical situation where Pseleusius continues his secondary narrative with a second story in 11–25, in which the story of Anianus and Paul and how they were instructed by their master Zachaeus (12–24, on the tertiary level) is in turn embedded.

We have already quoted the words with which Pseleusius concluded his second story in 26. At the same time, it brings us back to the primary narrative level and sets in motion the following events as Pseleusius immediately continues by narrating about another monk, Apa Isaac, whom Paphnutius then desires to visit. The adventurous boat ride on the Cataract towards Isaac not only emphasizes the hardships the travelers have to go through to reach the holy man, it also symbolizes the transition in the story to another narrator. When Isaac has welcomed them and they have settled down, Paphnutius asks Isaac about his ascetic life. No doubt out of modesty, Isaac instead begins to tell a story that he heard from his master Apa Aaron, which he in turn allegedly heard from the first bishop of Philae, Macedonius (28):

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΙ ΕΤΑΓΙΝΡΖΩΒ, †ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝ-  
ΤΑΙΟΤΜΟΥ ΝΤΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΤΑΙΜΑ-  
ΘΗΤΕΥΕ ΖΑΡΑΤῸ ΑΥΩ ΔΙΠΣΩΠῸ ΕΤΡῸΧΩ ΕΡ’Ο’Ι ΝΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ  
ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ. ΠΕΧΑϥ ΓΑΡ ΝῶΙ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ  
[Χ]Ε †ΝΑΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΑΩΗΡΕ, ΝΝΕΝΤΑΙ[ΝΑ]Υ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΟΤΜΟΥ  
Ν[ΤΟΟ]ΤῸ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΑ{Ρ}ΚΕΔΟΝΙ’Ο’Σ [ΠΕΠ]ΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

Since you have asked me about my practice, I shall tell you about the things that I have seen and heard from my holy father Aaron. For I was his disciple and begged him to tell me about the things that he had seen and had happened before his time. So indeed my holy father Apa Aaron said, ‘I shall tell you, my son, about the things that I have seen and heard from the blessed Bishop Apa Macedonius’.

This passage has an important narratological function. The phrase ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΟΤΜΟΥ ‘the things that I have seen and heard’ picks up the similar remark by Pseleusius in 26 and basically frames Isaac’s stories in sections 2 and 3. Isaac then refers to a conversation that he once had with Aaron, in which he begged his master to tell him about ΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΥ-

<sup>169</sup> See above, pp. 28–29.

ὧδὲ ἑξῆς ἐξῆ ‘the things that he had seen and had happened before his time’, which more specifically introduces Isaac’s first story (29–85). Aaron’s answer to tell him about ΝΕΝΤΑΙ[ΝΑ]Υ ΕΡΟΟΥ Μῆ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΟΤΜΟΥ ‘the things that I have seen and heard’ brings us to an alleged conversation between him and Macedonius, in which the bishop tells his story, so that we are at the tertiary level of narration. The conversation is a literary device, however, as it contradicts a later statement that Aaron was a monk in the episcopate of Psoulousia, the fourth bishop (79). Moreover, Macedonius’ eyewitness account soon turns to third person narration in 31, bringing us back to the secondary level with Isaac as narrator, which he remains (with the exception of 40, where we briefly return to Macedonius’ eyewitness account, and 64–67, where Athanasius of Alexandria tells a parable to Mark, in which another parable in turn is embedded, so that we reach the quaternary level) until the end of section 2.<sup>170</sup> Nevertheless, the presentation of Aaron’s involvement with Macedonius both authenticates the story and serves to enhance his sanctity, a theme that is worked out further in section 3.

That section 2 is primarily intended as Isaac’s story of what he heard from Aaron on the secondary level appears from the statement that rounds off the stories of the first four bishops of Philae (Isaac’s first story) in 86:

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΓΕ, ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΠΙΕΛΗ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ, ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ  
ΑΙΤΑΜΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΤΑΥΩΩΠΕ Ζῆ ΠΙΛΑΚ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ  
ΖΑΡΩ(Ν) ΤΑΜΟΙ ΖΩΩΤ. ΑΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ † ΝΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΑΥCΤΡΑΤΕΥΕ  
ΜΜΟQ ΖΩΩQ.

Now then, my brother Paphnutius, since you have asked me for some information, I have told you about the bishops who were in Philae, just as my father Apa Aaron told it to me. As for him, his parents paid money and enlisted him in the army.

The narrator (Isaac), almost without catching his breath, continues telling about Aaron. Since this is the beginning of his second story, which changes the subject matter completely (from the bishops of Philae to Aaron) the transition may seem sudden. On the other hand, in 28 Isaac had said that he was going to tell ‘the things that I have seen and heard from my holy father Aaron’, and at the beginning of section 3 (86–88) he continues to recount what he has heard from his master, though he now speaks about how Aaron became a monk, a

<sup>170</sup> Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 243.



passage that is made more lively by two small segments in 87 and 88 in which the crucial encounter with a lion is seen through Aaron's eyes on the tertiary level.

The transition to Isaac's personal experiences with Aaron is clearly marked in 89, where we are back at the conversation with Paphnutius on the primary level:

ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, Ν[ΤΑΙCΟΤΜΟΥ] ΝΤΟΟΤῚ  
ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΔΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ[Ν Ν]ΤΕΡΙCῚCΩΠῚ ΕΤΡῚΧΩ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΤΕCῚ(Ν)ΑΠΟ{C}-  
ΤΑCCE. ΜῚῚCΩC ΟΝ, ΕΚΩΔΑΝΩΛ'Η'Λ ΕΧΩΙ, †ΝΑΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ῚΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΑΥ  
ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖῚ ΝΑΒΑΛ.

I have heard these things that I have told you, my brother Paphnutius, from my father Apa Aaron after I begged him to tell me about his renunciation from the world. Furthermore, if you pray for me, I shall also tell you the things that I have seen with my own eyes.

The remark that Isaac begged Aaron to tell him how he became a monk resembles the similar phrase in 28: just as the latter frames 29–85, so this remark, retroactively, frames 86–88, perhaps to make good on the slightly quick transition in 86. Henceforth, Isaac tells, on the secondary level, the remainder of his second story (89–137).

The end of the account on Aaron (section 3) is marked by a concluding formula (137) similar to the ones ending sections 1 (26) and 2 (86): ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ, Ω ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ ΜΠΟΛΥ†Α ΜΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν) 'Here then, my brother Paphnutius, I have told you a few of the feats of the holy Apa Aaron'. Yet he has one more story up his sleeve, about the miraculous death of Aaron, with which he immediately continues in a similar way as Pseleusius and Isaac, having just concluded their stories, move on quickly to their next subject in 26 and 86. The concluding remark and an interpolation of Paphnutius in the account of Aaron's death then signal the definitive return to the dialogue between Paphnutius and Isaac in 138, ΤΕΝΟΥ CΕ, ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΟΥΝΑ ΝῚΜΑΙ ΝῚΝ ΤΑΖΑΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῚ ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΜΟC ΕCΡ ΑΝΑC 'Now then, my brother Paphnutius, pray for me that God may have mercy on me and make my end in this world pleasing to him', which can also be seen as a fitting ending to both of Isaac's stories (sections 2–3).

To conclude our discussion, whereas one may get the impression from the previous edition and translations that the *Life of Aaron* is a poorly structured work in which an over-ambitious author experimented with multiple narrative levels—and miserably failed—, a close narratological analysis of the text shows

that the work is in fact extremely well structured. The different narrative levels can be explained by the effort, also present in the *Life of Onnophrius*, to present the deeds of the holy men in their own words. Yet our author went even further by underlining the transmission of knowledge from master to pupil through the inclusion of multiple, interlocking narrative levels, even though later in the tradition some of the frequent switches in persons led to confusion and error.

## 5 Genre, Author and Audience

The *Life of Aaron* is a particularly intricate example of a monastic travelogue. It stands in the tradition of the Greek *History of the Monks in Egypt* of ca. 400, itself inspired by ancient travel writing, in which a Palestinian monk reports about the ascetic deeds of holy men along the Nile in order for him and his audience (the narratees) to profit (spiritually, morally) from them.<sup>171</sup> The work soon became widely influential, both in Greek, for example on the *Lausiac History* by Palladius (ca. 420) and the *Historia religiosa* by Theodoret (ca. 440), and in Coptic, for example on the *Life of Onnophrius*, as we have seen in the previous section a work that has several features in common with our work, and the *Life of Cyrus*.<sup>172</sup>

Since the travelogue discourse has clearly been used as a literary framework for our text, and in the absence of the first leaf containing the title, previous scholars have created several titles merely to describe its contents: *Histories of the Monks in the Egyptian Desert* (Budge), *Storia dei monaci presso Siene* (Campagnano and Orlandi), *Stories of the Monks of the Desert* (Layton) and *Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt* (Vivian). There are, however, good reasons to suppose that the work was called the *Life of Aaron*.<sup>173</sup> First of all, in the colophon Aaron is identified as the central figure of the work, just as Athanasius and the Archangel Michael are for the other two works of the manuscript.<sup>174</sup> As we have

171 This is also the main theme of the *Life of Aaron*, see further n. 203 below.

172 Three fragments of another, similar work survive (ed. W.E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri* [Oxford, 1913] 167–170 [no. 29]; the text is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Depuydt, *Catalogue* 1, 300 [no. 156]), in which, as it seems, the main character speaks to a holy man, who tells him a story about how two Nubians became monks. For the genre of monastic travelogue, see G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes. Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2000).

173 Cf. Orlandi, 'Testo copto', 226, who for the sake of brevity uses *Vita Aronis*, though he regards it as 'meno preciso' than Budge's *Histories of the Monks in the Egyptian Desert*.

174 See above, p. 18.

seen in the previous section,<sup>175</sup> this is in line with the structure of the work, which is centred on and works towards Aaron: the much shorter section 1 can be seen as a prelude to the great deeds of Aaron in section 3, and Aaron is directly linked to, and receives further enhancement from, the bishops of Philae in section 2. Just as in the *Life of Onnophrius* and the *Life of Cyrus*, then, the story of one ascetic, Aaron, seems to have been enlarged, and given the work its name. In fact, section 3 has all the features of a saint's life or *vita*, a genre that was initiated by the *Life of Antony* (ca. 356) and was also popular in Coptic literature.<sup>176</sup> As the travelogue is a hybrid genre, the influence from the *vita* in itself does not surprise; it is the extensive way in which this is done in section 3 that is remarkable.<sup>177</sup> The prominent role of Aaron in the work is expressed once more in the epilogue (140):

ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΒΙΟΣ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΝΡΜΠΛΑΚ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΕΑΦΧΕΚ  
ΠΕΦΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΕΒΤ ΜΠΕΙΛΑΚ

This is the life of the holy anchorite from Philae, Apa Aaron, who finished his course in the desert east of Philae.<sup>178</sup>

In terms of authorship, Paphnutius is clearly represented as the main narrator of the *Life of Aaron* and the one who wrote it down (138). In the *Life of Onnophrius*, Paphnutius is also the main narrator, though the situation is slightly different, as in this case he told the story to some brothers from Scetis who then wrote it down.<sup>179</sup> If we speculate that a Paphnutius of Scetis was the narrator of both works, there are three potential candidates.<sup>180</sup> The first is Paphnutius 'Bubalis', who was over ninety years old and an authoritative figure in Scetis when Cassian met him at the end of the fourth century.<sup>181</sup> In the 390s,

175 See above, p. 35.

176 A. Campagnano, 'Monaci egiziani fra v e vi secolo', *VetChr* 15 (1978) 223–246 at 243–244 gives, on the basis of the group of Coptic saints' lives that she has studied, a general structure of these works to which section 3 conforms entirely: youth (86–88), ascetic life (89–97), miracles (98–136) and death (137).

177 For the hybrid nature of the travelogue, see Frank, *Memory of the Eyes*, 38–43.

178 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 227–228, 245–246, and 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 35.

179 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a–b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223). See also p. 36 above.

180 Cf. the previous discussions of De L. O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London and New York, 1937) 219–220, and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 42–50, 53–54. More cautious are Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 67.

181 Esp. Cassian. *Coll.* 3.1 (SC 42bis, pp. 210–212), 10.2 (SC 54bis, p. 142).

Palladius met another Paphnutius in Scetis, this one nicknamed ‘Cephalas’ and in his eighties, who is also mentioned in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* and associated there with St Antony.<sup>182</sup> This may be the Paphnutius of Scetis who, without nickname, occurs in several other sayings, in two as the disciple of Macarius the Egyptian.<sup>183</sup>

None of these illustrious Paphnutii from Scetis, who all seem to have been old men at the end of the fourth century, however, could have been the author of the *Life of Aaron*. In 79, Aaron is said to have been a monk in the episcopate of Psoulousia (ca. 385). This places the narrative present two generations later (Isaac—Paphnutius) in ca. 425, too late for any of these Paphnutii to be the author. Moreover, in the work no mention is made of Scetis, except for in 88, in which Aaron is said to have started his monastic career there, but this is a fairly standard literary *topos*.<sup>184</sup> Otherwise, everything points to a regional *Sitz im Leben* of the text: the monastic community of Pseleusius and Zaboulon, where Paphnutius arrives at the beginning of the story, is situated near Aswan, and so presumably is the community Hilltop, where Anianus and Paul first settle;<sup>185</sup> in a precise topographical description, Pseleusius and Paphnutius travel 4 Roman miles (ca. 6 km) by boat to ΤΗΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΝ ΤΗΝΤΕ ΜΗΚΑΤΑΞΡΑΚΤΗΣ ‘the island in the middle of the Cataract’, probably el-Hesa, where Isaac lives and the conversation with Paphnutius takes place (sections 2–3);<sup>186</sup> it is also where Psoulousia has his cell;<sup>187</sup> the island of Philae plays a prominent role in section 2, including one of its main cults, that of the sacred falcon;<sup>188</sup> after Macedonius has killed the falcon, he flees to the Valley, which can be identified with a wadi north-east of Philae and is a key setting in sections 2–3, as it is the place where Macedonius, Mark and Isaiah, as well as Aaron live and are buried;<sup>189</sup> Nubians, as part of the multicultural makeup of the region, recur frequently in sections

182 Pall. *h. Laus.* 47 (pp. 137–142 Butler); *Apophth. Patr.*, Alph. Coll., Antony 29 and Matoes 10 (PG 65, cols 85, 293).

183 *Apophth. Patr.*, Alph. Coll., Macarius 28, 37 and Paphnutius (PG 65, cols 273, 277–280, 377–380). In Pall. *h. Laus.* 18 (p. 57 Butler), a Paphnutius, who is the disciple of Macarius the Younger, is mentioned. For discussion of these various Paphnutii, see e.g. E.C. Butler, *The Lausiack History of Palladius*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1904) 224–225 (no. 89); A. Guillaumont, ‘Paphnutius of Scetis, Saint’, in *Copt. Enc.* VI (1991) 1884.

184 See comm. on 88, ΔΙΒΩΚ ... ΕΤΗΝΑΥ.

185 Comm. on 3, ΟΥΣΟΝ ... ΖΑ[Υ]ΒΟΥΛΩΝ, and 13, ΠΚΟΟΖ.

186 Comm. 26, ΕΤΟΥΝΗΖ ... ΜΗΛΙΟΝ.

187 Comm. on 79, ΖΝ †ΤΗΝΟΣ.

188 Comm. on 31, ΕΥΩΜΩ[Ε ... ΠΒ[ΗΣ].

189 Comm. on 37, ΠΔ.

2–3,<sup>190</sup> and the miracles performed by Aaron (98–136) take place in a regional setting, such as when a man from Philae rides his donkey on the road to Aswan, which is well attested archaeologically.<sup>191</sup> Thus, the author of our work was in all likelihood a local monk, who with his knowledge of the region managed to give the work its characteristic *couleur locale*.<sup>192</sup> The author no doubt used the name of a renowned ascetic of the past in order to lend authority to his work, a phenomenon that is well attested in Coptic (and other Christian) literature.<sup>193</sup>

Given the regional outlook of the work, it is also likely that its intended audience was primarily regional. By comparison, the locations mentioned in the *Life of Onnophrius* are much less specific: three caves, a cell and a well.<sup>194</sup> And the same holds for the *Life of Cyrus*: three cells.<sup>195</sup> Because of its more general character, it is surely no coincidence that the *Life of Onnophrius* has been transmitted in multiple languages and manuscripts,<sup>196</sup> whereas the *Life of Aaron* is only transmitted in one, Sahidic Coptic manuscript (and fragments of another). At some point, however, our work must have also appealed to an audience outside the region, as we have seen in the section on ‘Manuscripts and Colophon’ that our tenth-century manuscript was copied for a *topos* of Apa Aaron in the desert of Edfu. Moreover, an early eleventh-century wall painting

190 Comm. on 44, ϣΕΝΑΝΟΥΒΑ.

191 Comm. on 99, ΝΤΕΡΙΒΩΚ ... ΕΣΟΥΑΝ.

192 Cf. Peeters, review of Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, 275: ‘Elle était composée sur place, par un Copte du pays, à une époque où la légende originale était encore vivace’.

193 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 247–251, and ‘Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier’, 35–36. For the attribution of literary works to authoritative figures in Coptic literature, see e.g. T. Orlandi, ‘Coptic Literature’, in B.A. Pearson, J.E. Goehring (eds), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1986) 58–81 at 78–80, and ‘Literature (Coptic)’, in *Copt.Enc.* v (1991) 1450–1460 at 1456–1458, to be read with A. Papaconstantinou, ‘Hagiography in Coptic’, in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1 (Farnham and Burlington, 2011) 323–343 at 331–335. Suitable examples are the *Life of Hilaria* and the *Life of Cyrus*, which are ascribed to the famous fourth-century anchorite Apa Pambo, but cannot have been written by him, as both works (*Life of Hilaria* [ed. J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends: Hilaria, Archellites, The Seven Sleepers* [Cairo, 1947] *passim*; *Life of Cyrus*, fol. 23a [ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 128]) refer to the Emperor Zeno (474–491), which places their date of writing after 474. On Pambo, see L. Regnault, ‘Pambo, Saint’, in *Copt.Enc.* vi (1991) 1887–1888.

194 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 1a–b, 2a–b, 4a, 5b, 9b, 10a, 12b, 17a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 205, 206, 208, 209, 212, 213, 215, 219).

195 *Life of Cyrus*, fol. 23b, 24a, 25b, 26a, 27b, 29a, 30a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 129, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136).

196 See above, n. 162.

of Aaron is preserved in the cathedral of Faras in Lower Nubia. Yet that Aaron remained essentially a local saint appears from the fact that, unlike Onnophrius and Cyrus, he was never included in the *Synaxarium*.<sup>197</sup>

## 6 Sources and Intertextuality

The main source and point of departure of our work is, as can be expected, the Bible. Hagiographical works, it is well known, are teeming with biblical language, allusions, references, paraphrases and citations.<sup>198</sup> Often the use of biblical language is considered so integral to the saint's life that in editions citations are included in the margins, the less accurate renderings preceded by a 'cf.', without any further analysis.<sup>199</sup> However, what is forgotten in such an approach is that these citations figure within a literary context and as such have a meaningful role to play within it.<sup>200</sup> In our commentary we have therefore taken great care to compare the citations with the standard Sahidic text (only absent in a handful of cases for Old Testament passages), to note significant deviations and to ask in each case how the citations function within their context. As can be seen from the following examples, they range along the entire spectre from full quotation to general paraphrase and illustrate the creative ways in which the author made use of the Bible to enhance the spiritual authority of his protagonists.

Before we start our analysis, we will delineate our topic a bit further, as this section does not cover all of the uses of the Bible in our work. In fact, it is so steeped in biblical language that Macedonius, the first bishop of Philae, remarks after receiving a vision about two sons whom he needs to look for, despite the fact that he had long renounced marriage, *πλην πεκοῦω μάρῳ*-

197 See above, p. 15, with Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 251, and 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 36. The entries for Onnophrius and Cyrus in the *Synaxarium* can be found in *PO* 17, pp. 567–570 (16 Paone = 10 June) and 639–640 (8 Epep = 2 July).

198 See e.g. the excellent introductions by M. van Uytanghe, 'L'empreinte biblique sur la plus ancienne hagiographie occidentale', in J. Fontaine, C. Pietri (eds), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris, 1985) 565–611, 'Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)', in *RAC* XIV (1988) 150–183 at 177–178, and 'L'hagiographie: un "genre" chrétien ou antique tardif?', *AB* III (1993) 135–188 at 171–173.

199 As is the case e.g. in the, otherwise fine, edition of D.W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius, Bishop of Tkôw, Attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Leuven, 1980).

200 Encouraging in this respect are the sections devoted to biblical influence on the *Life of Antony* in the introduction of G.J.M. Bartelink, *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine* (Paris, 2004<sup>2</sup>) 48–53.

ΘΩΠΕ, ΠΑΧ(ΘΕΙ)C Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C ΠΕΧΡ(ΙCΤΟ)C ‘Yet your will be done, my Lord Jesus Christ’ (38), thus replicating the words from the Lord’s Prayer in Matt. 6:10. But this phrase is so common in Christian parlance at this time and the use of such phrases so widespread in the text that, even though the most prominent cases are noted in the commentary, we shall concentrate here only on citations directly marked with a formula such as ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΤΗΖ ‘as it is written’ and those quotations that, while lacking an introductory formula, take over and/or adapt a substantial amount of text from the Bible, as well as explicit references to biblical stories.

There are no less than 104 such direct references in our text, which are all indicated in the translation. If we look at their distribution over the text clear patterns can be discerned. In section 1, in which Paphnutius hears the stories of how Pseleusius and Anianus and Paul became monks, there are 33 references. Section 2, on the other hand, despite it being much longer than section 1, has only 21 references. This discrepancy can easily be explained because the second section is the most narrative part of the work, describing the episcopates of the first four bishops of Philae, while section 1 focuses more on the calling to and challenges of the monastic life, in which edification is key. Section 3, finally, which is of about the same length as section 2, has 50 references, which can again be explained on the basis of the contents, as it contains the story of how Isaac became a monk under Aaron, the main protagonist of the work, and the latter’s way of life, including a catalogue of miracles.

Within these sections clusters of references can be found especially when authoritative figures give speeches. For example, in section 1, when his disciples Anianus and Paul ask their master Zachaeus why he cries so much, he offers an extensive exegesis of Exod. 17:10–13, the story of Moses and Amalek, including 8 references (18–22). Despite the generally low number of references in section 2, the highest concentration is found here in an elaborate speech by Athanasius of Alexandria to the newly appointed second bishop of Philae, Mark, in which he exhorts him to give bread to the poor Nubians in his see, despite them being pagan (61–68). In this passage alone, there are 12 references. Finally, among some of the more substantial miracle stories in section 3, Aaron instructs the people coming to him for help with short speeches, such as the one in the story of the poor man and the rich man (109–115), which contains 11 references.<sup>201</sup> We can thus see that biblical references are an integral part of the text and are particularly frequent as a rhetorical device in speeches with an edifying character.

<sup>201</sup> Discussed in more detail below, p. 51.

Our author takes recourse to a wide variety of Bible books, the New Testament being cited almost three times more often than the Old Testament: 81 vs. 32 references. Apart from the letters to the Galatians, Philippians and Colossians, some of the pastoral letters (Titus, Philemon, John and Jude) and Revelation, all books of the New Testament are represented, though our author has a strong preference for the Gospel of Matthew, with 35 references (9 of which from the Sermon of the Mount alone). In fact, in 44 Macedonius is reading the gospels when a quarrel breaks out among two Nubians about a camel which has broken its leg. When he arrives at the phrase  $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$  'Blessed are the peacemakers ...', which means that he is in fact reading the Sermon of the Mount (Matt. 5:9), he decides to go up to them to settle their dispute. The author is much more selective in using the Old Testament, concentrating mostly on famous stories in Genesis, Exodus, Judges, 1 Samuel, Kings and Isaiah. By contrast, Psalms are cited throughout and, with 12 references, is actually the second most cited Bible book.

Having discussed the references in general, let us now turn to a selection of concrete examples that illustrate the multiple uses of the Bible by our author. To start with citations in which the scriptural reference is explicitly introduced, the use of phrases such as 'as it is written' does not necessarily mean that these citations are always literally taken over from the Bible. In fact, on a total of 72, 20 citations (or 28%) have been significantly altered, not even counting very minor changes. And even among the literal citations, passages have been deliberately selected to fit the context. For example, when Paphnutius is kindly welcomed in the opening scene, the monks express their admiration for him by citing one passage from the Old (Ps. 83:2) and one from the New Testament (Rom. 11:28), which both begin with  $\zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon$  'beloved are (they)' (1):

$\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\varphi\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\ \pi[\rho\bar{\alpha}]\Psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \Delta\Delta(\gamma\iota)\Delta\ \chi\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}[\epsilon\kappa]\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \omicron\bar{\nu}\ \chi\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\mu\epsilon\rho[\iota\tau]\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon.$

The Psalmist David rightly said: 'Beloved are your habitations' (Ps. 83:2), and (it is) also (written): 'Beloved are they because of their fathers' (Rom. 11:28).

In many cases, however, the author has made some significant alteration. These changes can be relatively innocent, such as in 64, where the end of the quote from Ps. 21:26,  $\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\mu$  'him', is clarified by adding  $\mu\pi\chi(\omicron\epsilon\iota)\varsigma$  'the Lord':

$\varphi\chi\omega\ \eta\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon\bar{\Psi}\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\Delta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\bar{\nu}\ \Delta\Delta(\gamma\iota)\Delta\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\tau}\eta\alpha\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\nu}\eta\alpha\omega\lambda\eta\lambda\ \mu\pi\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\eta\mu\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\ \zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\tau\bar{\alpha}\ \mu\pi\chi(\omicron\epsilon\iota)\varsigma.$



The holy Psalmist David says: ‘I shall offer my prayers before everyone who fears the Lord’ (Ps. 21:26).

In 89, we hear how Isaac—as he is copying the Gospel at school—is inspired to become a monk:

ΝΤΕΡΙΕΙ ΕΘΗ ΕΧῚΝ ΤΛΕΖΙC ΕΤΖῚ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕ ΝῚΝΑΚΑ ΕΙΩΤ ΔΝ  
ΝCΩQ Η ΜΑΔΥ, ΜῚ ΠΚΕCΕΠΕ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΜῚΝCΑ ΝΔΙ, ΝῚΟΥΔΖῚ ΝCΩΙ, ΝῚΜΠΩΔ  
ΜΜΟΙ ΔΝ’ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙΤ’ ΖΤΗΙ ΕΠΕΞΡΗΤΟΝ ΔΙCΩ ΕΙΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΜΟQ ΖῚ ΠΑΖΗΤ  
ΤΗΡῚ.

When I came upon the passage in the Gospel: ‘Whoever will not forsake father or mother’—and the rest that follows—‘and follow me, is not worthy of me’ (Matt. 10:37–38), I was struck by the saying and kept meditating upon it with all my heart.

The passage quotes the beginning of Matt. 10:37 and the end of 10:38, with the skipped lines in between indicated by an ‘etcetera’. Moreover, the formulation of the first part in the original ‘whoever loves father or mother more than me’ is altered into ‘whoever will not forsake father or mother’, which better suits the context of renunciation. Interestingly, the same verses are quoted in fuller form (and following the biblical text) in 12, where they incite Anianus and Paul to become monks.

We now come to various, more drastic adaptations of the biblical model. An example is the end of Athanasius’ speech to Mark, where the patriarch says about the Nubians (68):

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΙ ΝΤΑΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΝΔΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ῚΘΕ ῚΟΥΒΙΛΒΙΛΕ ΖῚ  
ΠΕCΜΔΖ’ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ῚΤΑQΧΟΟC ΝCΙ ΗCΑΙΔC ΧΕ ΗΠῚ ΤΑΚΟQ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥCΜΟΥ  
ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ῚΖΗΤῚ.

That is why I have said all these things to you, for I found them to be like a grape in the cluster, as Isaiah said, ‘Do not destroy it, for there is a blessing of the Lord in it’ (Isa. 65:8).

Even though the Nubians are pagan, so Athanasius says, they still have a chance to be saved and therefore should not be rejected, in the same way as a bad looking cluster of grapes should not be destroyed as it may still contain some good ones. In the clause after ΧΕ the original wording of Isa. 65:8 has been completely adapted to fit the context; from ΚΑΤΑ, which is also introduced as a

direct citation, the rendering of this verse is more literal, though the construction is changed (from ΠΕΤΝΕΖΗΤΥ into ΟΥΝ ... ΝΕΖΗΤΥ).

In three extreme cases, after the introductory phrase there does not follow a citation at all, but rather a paraphrase.<sup>202</sup> One of these occurs in the opening scene (2), where Paphnutius compares the warm welcome that he receives from the monks with that of the servant of Abraham in Gen. 24, who is sent to his master's homeland to find a suitable wife for his son Isaac and is received with hospitality by Rebecca's family. Just as the servant succeeds in his mission, so the comparison suggests that Paphnutius' mission, to report about the monks on the southern Egyptian frontier, will also be successful. There follows a sentence that is introduced as if it is a citation ('as it is written'), but is in fact a paraphrase of Gen. 24, with 'the man' referring to the servant of Abraham: ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΣΗΖ [Χ]Ε Α ΠΕΤΕΖΝΑΦ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ [ΕΦ]ΟΥΩΟΥΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΕ 'as it is written: what the man wanted was fulfilled as he worshipped God'.

The same diversity is found in quotations, in which substantial passages from the Bible are taken and/or adapted without a specific introductory clause. Of the 20 cases, no less than 7 are full citations, which shows that—even though the number of full citations is quite a bit higher when explicitly introduced as such (52)—there is a significant overlap between the categories of citations that include and exclude an introductory formula. In the remaining 13 cases we again see all sorts of adaptations of the biblical text. To give just one example, in 87 it is recounted how Aaron, then still a soldier, faces a lion on the road. Here the author alludes to the story of David and Goliath, first by citing the words that David spoke to King Saul before the battle, ΠΜΟΥΙ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΞ ΠΕΚ-ΖΜΕΔ[Λ] ΔΦΠΑΤΑΚΕ ΜΜΟΥ 'Your servant has killed lions and bears' (1Sam. 17:36), which emboldens Aaron in this do-or-die moment, then by turning the words spoken by David to Goliath ΦΝΑΤΑΑΚ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΝΑΟΙΧ ΜΠΟΥ 'he (that is, the Lord) will deliver you into my hands today' (1Sam. 17:46) into the pledge to God that [ΕΚ]Ω[ΑΝ]Τ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΡΙΟΝ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΝΑΟΙΧ 'if you deliver this wild beast into my hands, he will become a monk. Naturally, the outcome of David's fight against both the wild beasts and Goliath already foretells that Aaron is going to win.

A third, and final, category are references to biblical stories that come close to situations in the story and thus elucidate and authenticate them. Among the 12 examples in our work we already encountered the reference to the story of Abraham's servant in 2. Again, we can see from this case, which contains

<sup>202</sup> The other cases are found in 19 (twice).

a reference to and a paraphrase of the story, that it is hard to maintain a strict distinction between this category and quotations, even if explicitly introduced.

In order to show how all three categories are harmoniously employed by the author in a single passage, we will conclude by discussing an extract from the miracle of the poor man and the rich man (109–115). In this story, a man comes to Apa Aaron, who is desperate because he owes a rich man ten *solidi* and that man threatens him with judicial steps so that he will have to give up his vineyard. The holy man consoles him and offers him to stay at his house for the night. The next morning, as the poor man is about to leave, the rich man arrives, riding on a donkey because he has been struck blind. The rich man falls down before the holy man but Aaron lifts him up, reprimanding him in a short speech (111–112). He starts by citing two passages from the Old Testament (Exod. 20:17, Deut. 5:21; Isa. 5:8) and two from the New Testament (Matt. 5:7; Jas. 2:13) to convey the message that the man should not covet the poor man's possessions and be merciful to him. Again we see a considerable variety of uses of the Bible here, as the citations from the Old Testament significantly rework the biblical text, in particular the opening quote. By contrast, the two New Testament citations faithfully follow the biblical text.

Aaron then refers to two stories, one from the New Testament (the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:19–31) and one from the Old Testament (the story of Ahab and Naboth, 1 Kgs. 21, 22:34–38), interspersed with a repetition of the citation from James now preceded by another quotation from the same verse, to remind him what happens to people who do not show mercy. Of these stories the last one, in which Ahab covets Naboth's vineyard, is particularly close to the current situation. In fact, the attentive listener would have already thought about this story when the poor man laments in 109 that the rich man ἐφογῶν ἐπὶ ἡτοοτ ἡπάμα νελοολε ἡταιταροϋ ῥα ἡδειοτε 'wants to take from me my vineyard which I inherited from my parents', which comes close to Naboth not wanting to give up his vineyard because it is his 'ancestral inheritance' (τῆς κληρονομίας ἡδειοτε, 1 Kgs. 21:3, 4). Needless to say, the rich man immediately repents, he forgives the poor man's debt and Aaron miraculously restores his eyesight.

Having discussed the Bible as the main intertext of our author, let us now turn to his other sources. The work has numerous themes, in particular the profit that can be gained from the holy men of the desert,<sup>203</sup> and *topoi* and

203 As we have seen (above p. 42), also the main theme of the *History of the Monks in Egypt* (prol. 12 [p. 8 Festugière]). In the *Life of Aaron*, the motif of profiting (†ζηϋ) from the holy men recurs several times throughout the narrative, e.g. at 3, where both Paphnutius and Pseleusius say that they benefited from the monk Zaboulon. Besides, Paphnutius states in

motifs, such as the ascetic life as an athletic contest (14, 140), *imitatio Christi* (as when Isaac washes the feet of Pseleusius and Paphnutius in 27), visions (4–5, 7, 37–40, 81), miracles and exorcisms (44–47, 83–84, 98–136; 127–129 is an exorcism) and the fight against demons (9, 23, 93, 95, 96), in common with other such works and can thus be firmly placed in Egyptian hagiography, and monastic literature more generally.<sup>204</sup>

As we have seen, the *Life of Aaron* comes closest in narrative situation and content to the *Life of Onnophrius*, as in both works a certain Paphnutius travels to a marginal area to profit from the holy men and they tell their stories to him at some length.<sup>205</sup> It can therefore be wondered what the relationship is between both works and even whether the *Life of Onnophrius* could have served as the model for our work. A detailed comparison of the texts on the level of words, phrases and sentences does not show a significant dependence of the one on the other. In 11, when Pseleusius meets Anianus and Paul, he asks a similar series of questions as Paphnutius does to Timothy at their meeting in the *Life of Onnophrius*, in both cases starting with ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΩ ΝΞΕ; ‘How did you arrive here?’.<sup>206</sup> Moreover, the scene of Macedonius finding Mark and Isaiah in the desert (39) is reminiscent of the first encounter between Paphnutius and Onnophrius in the *Life of Onnophrius*, as the persons found are on the verge of death due to lack of food and water, and seek shelter against the sun beneath a hilltop: Macedonius finds Mark and Isaiah [Ε]ΥΗΛΧ ΖΑ ΟΥΚΟΟΞ ΗΤΟΟΥ ‘lying below a hilltop’ and Onnophrius ΔΥΝΟΧΥ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΖΑ ΤΞΑΙΒC ΝΟΥΚΩΞ ΝΤΟΟΥ ‘lay down for a while in the shadow of a hilltop’.<sup>207</sup>

There are also some similarities in the closing passages of both works. At the death of the two main protagonists, Aaron and Onnophrius, angelic voices are heard (137), but this is a common motif that can also be found for instance in the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute*.<sup>208</sup> When Isaac has finished his story, Paphnutius

138 that he will write down the stories that he has heard ΕΥΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΗΓΕΝΕΔ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΗΔΩΠΕ ‘as a precept for all generations to come’ (for similar phrases at the end of the *Life of Onnophrius* and the *Life of Cyrus*, see p. 53, with n. 210 below). The same theme is also found in e.g. Ath. v. *Anton.* prol. 3 (sc 400, p. 126), and the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 1 (ed. J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1906] 7).

204 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 241–242, 252.

205 See above, pp. 35–36.

206 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 2b–3a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 206–207).

207 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 6b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 210).

208 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 15a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 217); Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 187–188 (ed. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia* 1, 75–76).

responds ΔΙΡ ΜΠΩΔ ΝΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΖΜΟΤ 'I have become worthy of a great grace' (138), which can be compared to the reaction by a group of unnamed monks from Scetis to Paphnutius' story in the *Life of Onnophrius*, ΔΛΗΘΩΣ ΔΚΜΠΩΔ ΝΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΖΜΟΤ 'Truly, you have become worthy of a great grace'.<sup>209</sup> In the same paragraph, the *topos* of writing down the story for the benefit of others can also be found in the *Life of Onnophrius*, though in this respect the latter looks more like the *Life of Cyrus*, as in both cases the resulting book is displayed in the church of Scetis.<sup>210</sup>

Despite some commonalities, then, a direct relationship between both works cannot be established. Not too much should be made of the fact that both works have a narrator of the same name as it was probably deliberately chosen by our author to lend authority to his work and does not necessarily say anything about an affinity between the works.<sup>211</sup> When zooming in on the similarities between the works, we should also not forget about the differences, in particular the story of the bishops of Philae, the much enlarged life of Aaron with its extensive catalogue of miracles and, generally, the regional landscape in which the *Life of Aaron* is set. It is more plausible to assume that both go back to a common model or were created in a similar environment where such works must have been fairly common, as is also witnessed by the existence of a third Coptic travelogue, the *Life of Cyrus*.

Besides these similarities and parallels with the *Life of Onnophrius*, many other echoes of monastic literature can be heard in our work, of which we will mention here only the three most prominent ones. First of all, the characterizations of the monks Zaboulon ΕΜΕΦΟΥΩΥ ΕΕΙ[ΝΕ] ΗΠΕΦΩΔΧΕ ΕΘΗ ΖΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΖ[ΩΒ] 'since he did not want his word to take precedence in anything' (3) and Matthew, ΝΕΜΕΦΠΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΖ ΕΝ ΠΕΦ[Υ]ΔΧΕ ΕΘΗ ΖΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΩΔΧΕ 'for he never sought to let his word take precedence in any matter' (16), use the same expression as in a saying of Poemen preserved in the Sahidic *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, ΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΩΠΝΕ ΝΑΔ ΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΩΔΧΕ ΕΘΗ 'in order that you may not seek to let your word take precedence'.<sup>212</sup> The second example concerns the first meeting between Isaac and Aaron, in which the former states ΕΙΟΥΩΥ ΖΩΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΔΤ ΗΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΖΑΖΤΗΚ 'I would like you to let me be a monk with you' (91). Virtually the same wording is found in the Bohairic *Life of*

209 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223).

210 *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223); *Life of Cyrus*, fol. 30a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 136).

211 See above, p. 45.

212 Sahidic *Apophth. Patr.* 104 (ed. M. Chaîne, *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des 'Apophthegmata Patrum'* [Cairo, 1960] 24).

*Pachomius* and the *Life of Hilaria*,<sup>213</sup> which moreover occurs in a similar scene in which a novice (Pachomius, Hilaria) asks a master (Palemon, Pambo) to stay with him, the master warns him/her about the hardships of the monastic life and the novice persists. Because of the similar elements in all three works this must have been a commonplace in monastic literature.

The third example is the second scene in which Isaac comes looking for Aaron in the desert, this time because he is troubled by demons. He finds his master standing in the burning heat with his feet in the hot sand and carrying a huge stone (93). This scene has some remarkable parallels with that in the Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius*, where this saint also goes out into the desert at the time of the inundation (compare ⲛⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩⲩⲩ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲙⲓ ⲛⲩⲛⲧⲩⲩ ‘in the season in which the water rose’ in the *Encomium*)<sup>214</sup> and stands in the sand with a large stone hanging from his neck. Like Isaac, a monk comes looking for him and witnesses the effect that this extreme form of asceticism has on Pesynthius (compare ⲉⲁⲛⲉⲩⲩⲁⲗ ⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲱⲣⲕ ‘and his eyes were about to burst’ in 93 with ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲩⲁⲗ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲓⲱⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ‘his eyes were filled with blood as if they would burst and come out’ in the *Encomium*).<sup>215</sup> And in a similar way the monk then asks Pesynthius why he undergoes such severe suffering to which the holy man answers (the explanation follows at 94 in our text).

Thus far we have concentrated mostly on explicit parallels with other works on the level of words, phrases and sentences, though we have also discussed some cases where similar scenes from other works may have been at the background. When we look at the higher level of larger textual units, our author has clearly embellished a number of key points in the story of Macedonius (29–54) in section 2 of the *Life of Aaron* by reworking literary models known to him. This is not surprising, as the story is mostly about the first bishop's role in the conversion of Philae (29–53), which is of fundamental importance for what follows in section 2 as it legitimizes the see of Philae and therewith also Macedonius' successors to the episcopal throne. In basic outline, the conversion story of Philae resembles other such stories in hagiographical literature. For instance, in the sixth-century *Life of Porphyry* by Mark the Deacon, we also hear about a city, in this case Gaza, that is dominated by idol worshippers, after which a newly

213 Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* (ed. L.T. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* [Leuven, 1953] 8); *Life of Hilaria* (ed. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends*, 5).

214 Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius* (ed. É.C. Amélineau, *Étude sur le christianisme en Égypte au septième siècle* [Paris, 1887] 75).

215 Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius* (ed. Amélineau, *Étude*, 76).

appointed bishop takes action and a series of miracles results in many conversions. The main difference, however, is that in our story one miracle is enough to convert the whole population.<sup>216</sup>

Turning now to individual passages, the creation of the see of Philae in 30 is clearly inspired by the similar story regarding the see of Aksum as told by Rufinus in his *Church History*.<sup>217</sup> Just like Frumentius, Macedonius goes to Alexandria to report to Athanasius about the need of Christian leadership in a marginal area that is still mostly pagan and is sent back as its first bishop.<sup>218</sup> The following scene (31), in which Macedonius kills the falcon venerated by idol worshippers on Philae, has basically the same plot as the idol and temple destruction scenes in contemporary Coptic hagiography. These accounts typically include references to the Old Testament, in our case the story of Jehu and the Baal worshippers (2 Kgs. 10:18–28), as can be seen especially in the motif of deceivingly offering a sacrifice to God.<sup>219</sup> Both the account of the creation of the see of Aksum and the idol destruction scenes also anticipate the same outcome, namely—following a miracle (the miracle of the camel's leg; 44–47)—the conversion of the entire population to Christianity (51–53). In the conversion scene, a third passage is found (53), the healing of the old woman, which seems particularly close to the healing of the deaf-mute in Mark 7:33–37.

A fourth, and final, passage is another miracle story (the miracle of the baptismal font; 83–84), which occurs not in the story of Macedonius but later on under the fourth bishop of Philae, Psoulousia. The reason for this is that Mark and Isaiah are involved from the beginning in the story of Macedonius whereas Psoulousia is not explicitly linked to him. Thus, even though the episcopates of Mark, Isaiah and Psoulousia all follow the same structure, the author felt it necessary to add a miracle story to the latter's episcopate. This miracle is clearly inspired by the story of Theophilus, Horsiesius and the wand of light in the *Historia Horsiesii*, preserved in a sixth- or seventh-century codex, in which Horsiesius, like Psoulousia, travels to Alexandria and initiates a miracle in the presence of Bishop Theophilus.<sup>220</sup>

216 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 264–266. For the date, see now T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010) 260–283; A. Lampadaridi, *La conversion de Gaza au christianisme. La Vie de S. Porphyre de Gaza par Marc le Diacre* (Brussels, 2016) 15–19.

217 Ruf. *Hist.* 10.9–10 (GCS NF 6.2, pp. 971–973).

218 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 256–257.

219 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 89–92, and “I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today”.

220 *Historia Horsiesii* (ed. W.E. Crum, *Der Papyruscodex saec. VI–VII der Phillippsbibliothek in Cheltenham* [Strasbourg, 1915] 12–15).

All in all, we hope to have demonstrated that our author is well versed in Christian literature, from the Bible to contemporary monastic literature such as the *Historia Hirsutii*. The influence of the Bible lurks around every corner, if it is not in plain sight, and we have seen that the author employed his biblical learning in various ways to enhance the sanctity of the holy men. He also had a considerable knowledge of other Christian, especially monastic literature. However, because of our poor knowledge of the date of the majority of Coptic literary works and the considerable reworking that most of them have undergone over time, it often remains elusive which work influenced another and hence it cannot be traced how exactly our author interacted with other texts. There are nonetheless four cases in section 2 where we can see him at work using prototypes from existing models and remoulding them to fit his story.

## 7 Historical Significance and Date

Having discussed the literary character of our work in the last three sections, we will finally turn to the historical dimension of the text. There is a general consensus that we have to be extremely careful in using hagiographical works as historical sources. These works were not written to accurately report historical details but rather to convey a spiritual message, in which something of the sanctity of the holy man (or men) reflects on the hagiographer and his audience, and offers a model to follow.<sup>221</sup> Accordingly, the author will distort and use stereotypes in order to fulfill this goal, for instance by expanding extensively on the miraculous deeds of his protagonist, as happens in section 3 of our work. On the other hand, we have seen that our author seems to communicate with a regional audience, rather than a more general public.<sup>222</sup> In this sense, regional saints' lives are of particular interest to the ancient historian, as the author will often relate to his audience's definite sense of time and space by providing unique details about a regional landscape, and the persons and events placed in that landscape.<sup>223</sup>

In his much-debated *Religion in Roman Egypt* of 1998, David Frankfurter has put hagiography on the agenda again as a source for studying Late Antique

221 See C. Rapp, 'Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*', *J ECS* 6 (1998) 431–448.

222 See above, p. 45.

223 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 253–254, and 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 37.



Egypt. While his general point, that traditional religious practices continued beyond the institutionalization of Christianity in the fourth century, is well taken, he has been severely criticized for his all too ready use of hagiographical sources to back up this point.<sup>224</sup> In a conference organized in the context of the first author's doctoral defense in 2005 three specialists of Late Antique Egypt focused on this issue. While Frankfurter maintained that saints' lives often preserve 'authentic details' about Ancient Egyptian religion, the others were more critical, and we will follow in particular the second author's approach here.<sup>225</sup> One of the main purposes of hagiography is to write a Christian landscape, in which 'the historical depth of the (...) story primarily serves the purpose of legitimation and explanation'.<sup>226</sup> This is no doubt precisely the reason why the story of the first bishops of Philae (section 2) has been included in the work, as it explains to a later Christian audience how its community was created. The way traditional religion is portrayed in hagiography, then, says something about how a contemporary Christian author and his audience looked back on the 'pagan' past, and there is every reason to be skeptical about such elements in the story.<sup>227</sup>

The most cited, and perhaps most famous, episode from the *Life of Aaron*, the one of Macedonius and the holy falcon, provides an illustrative case. In it, Macedonius, the first bishop of Philae, sent by Athanasius of Alexandria himself, goes into the temple, pretends that he is going to sacrifice to the falcon worshipped there, and instead kills it. He flees and, following the conversion of the priest's sons and a miracle performed by one of them, the entire island is converted to Christianity. While Macedonius was a historical figure (ca. 343) and the falcon cult one of the most prominent cults on the island,<sup>228</sup> this story is largely legendary, as we know that the falcon cult was continued until the fifth

224 D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998); for an extensive rejoinder, see e.g. R.S. Bagnall, 'Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt', in J. Hahn, S. Emmel, U. Gotter (eds), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008) 23–41.

225 D. Frankfurter, 'Hagiography and the Reconstruction of Local Religion in Late Antique Egypt: Memories, Inventions and Landscapes', J. van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless: Landscape and History in Egyptian Hagiography', and P. van Minnen, 'Saving History? Egyptian Hagiography in Its Space and Time', in J.H.F. Dijkstra, M. van Dijk (eds), *The Encroaching Desert. Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006) 13–37, 39–55, and 57–91, respectively.

226 Van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless', 54.

227 Van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless', 48–51; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 93, and 'The Fate of the Temples in Late Antique Egypt', in L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (Leiden, 2011) 389–436 at 400.

228 Comm. on 28, ΗΛ{Ρ}ΚΕΛΟΝΙ'Ο'ς, and 31, ΕΥΦΥΝΩ[ε ... ΠΒ[ΗΒ].

century and the island became Christian more gradually. On the other hand, it does have historical value as the perspective of a later Christian audience on its formative period, which moreover legitimizes the creation of the see of Philae.<sup>229</sup>

It is, then, of crucial importance to know when the work was written.<sup>230</sup> As we have already seen, the narrative present can be placed around 425, telling earlier stories going back into the fourth century.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, the papyrus fragments of our earliest manuscript date to the sixth or seventh centuries, so the time of writing must have been before 700.<sup>232</sup> A reliable way of further narrowing down the date is to look at terms, titles or other elements that occur in or after a certain date. For instance, the use of the title archbishop for several of the bishops of Alexandria indicates a date after 431.<sup>233</sup> Even more important is the reason given as to why Macedonius came to the south in the first place, which due to its meaningful role in the story is unlikely to be a later addition: he was a *πάγαρχος* 'pagarch', a title that occurs in this sense only after 491. The use of the title here is thus anachronistic and provides a *terminus post quem* for our work. Moreover, the Coptic uses the loanword *παγαρχέω* 'to be pagarch', which does not occur after 614.<sup>234</sup> Other internal elements also conform to this timeframe. As a pagarch, Macedonius pays his respect to the *στρατηλάτης* 'military commander' in Alexandria, which, if the *dux et augustalis* is meant, would make most sense in a sixth- (or early seventh-) century context.<sup>235</sup> The use of the title patriarch for the bishop of Alexandria only seems to have become customary from the sixth century onwards.<sup>236</sup> And the potential reference to the pilgrimage centre of Apa Menas outside Alexandria indicates a similar date.<sup>237</sup>

All internal evidence thus points in the direction of a sixth-century date of composition of our work (though the early seventh century cannot be entirely

229 As argued *in extenso* by Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 253–269 (Ch. 8). See also his 'Fate of the Temples', 427–429, 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 37–39, and 'Religious Violence in Late Antique Egypt Reconsidered: The Cases of Alexandria, Panopolis and Philae', *Journal of Early Christian History* 6 (2015) 24–48 at 41 (repr. in W. Mayer, C.L. de Wet [eds], *Reconceiving Religious Conflict: New Views from the Formative Centuries of Christianity* [London, 2018] 211–233 at 222).

230 This discussion departs from and updates the one in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 230–231.

231 See above, p. 44.

232 See above, pp. 10–11.

233 Comm. on 30, ΠΑΡΧΗΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΠΡΑΚΟΤ[Ε].

234 Comm. on 29, ΕΤ]Ι ... ΝΕΠΟΛΙΣ.

235 Comm. on 30, ΠΕΣΤ[ΡΑΤ]ΗΛΑΤΗΣ.

236 Comm. on 30, ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ.

237 Comm. on 59, ΠΜΟΝ{ΟΝ}ΔΕΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ.

excluded). This date fits nicely with what we know of sixth-century Philae, in particular the long episcopate of Theodore (ca. 525–after 577), who employed various strategies to construct a Christian identity on the island, a context in which the ‘invention of tradition’ of a fully Christian Philae from the first bishop onwards in the *Life of Aaron* can be readily envisaged.<sup>238</sup> Moreover, as we have seen, Nubians frequently appear in the story and are characterized as ‘pagan’, while in his speech to Mark Athanasius reveals that they will eventually convert.<sup>239</sup> This remark can best be seen against the backdrop of the official conversion of Nubia in the sixth century.<sup>240</sup> Further supplementary evidence is the anachronistic description of Macedonius as a pagarch, which a recent study of Late Antique pagarchs has found would not be out of place in the sixth (or early seventh) century.<sup>241</sup>

The sixth-century date cautions us even more against taking as historical certain elements in the story of the first bishops of Philae in section 2, as these events belonged to a distant past at the time in which the text was written. Another example of this is the portrayal of the bishops of Philae as monk-bishops, living separate from their communities and engaging in ascetic practices, in which the author undoubtedly transposed contemporary ideas about the episcopate back on the earlier period.<sup>242</sup> The other parts of the work, sections 1 and 3, should be similarly approached. Though in itself witnesses to the early monastic communities in the region, the stories of the ascetics depicted here are highly literary and conform entirely to contemporary descriptions of ascetic lives in Egyptian Christian literature. A good example is the catalogue of miracles in section 3, which all have the same structure and highlight the role of the holy man as a mediator between God and man, as has been described so

238 Argued in detail in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 305–338 (Ch. 10). See also his ‘Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier’, 39.

239 See above, p. 15.

240 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 330–332, and ‘Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier’, 39.

241 M. Stern, ‘Local Magnates, but Mobile: Elite Dynamics in a Byzantine Province’, in S.R. Huebner et al. (eds), *Living the End of Antiquity: Individual Histories from Byzantine to Islamic Egypt* (Berlin, forthcoming).

242 J.E. Goehring, ‘Imagining Macedonius, the First Bishop of Philae’, in Gabra and Takla, *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, 9–20. Even Athanasius is described as having ascetic tendencies, and when Mark and his delegation arrive in Alexandria they hear that he has retreated to a monastery west of the city, see comm. on 57, ΝΤΕΡΝ-ΒΟΚ ... ΕΜΑΑΓΕ. For the monk-bishop, see e.g. A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church. The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), esp. pp. 192–218; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005) 137–152; M.C. Giorda, ‘Bishops-Monks in the Monasteries: Presence and Role’, *JJP* 39 (2009) 49–82.

eloquently in the works of Peter Brown.<sup>243</sup> On the other hand, these miracles are placed in a definite regional landscape and address some of the everyday concerns of the local population. It is surely no coincidence that two of the last miracles that Aaron performs have to do with the Nile inundation, which was vital for Egyptian society.<sup>244</sup> Thus the *Life of Aaron* not only offers a unique perspective of a Christian community and its formative period, it also reflects some of its daily problems and needs.<sup>245</sup>

## 8 A Word on the Edition, Translation and Commentary

Two principles have guided our edition of the *Life of Aaron*. The first is that we are editing a text, not a manuscript. The second, that our edition should make this text easily accessible to a wide audience of students and scholars interested in Late Antique Egypt. These principles dictated a number of choices briefly presented below.<sup>246</sup>

In accordance with modern reading practices, we have introduced in our text of the *Life of Aaron* word separation, largely based upon the sensible guidelines advocated by Walter Till (1894–1963),<sup>247</sup> and Greek-style punctuation, marking clause and sentence division.<sup>248</sup> No effort has been made to reproduce the word separation and punctuation of the manuscripts. The erratic superlineation of codex Or. 7029 has largely been respected though, but in a simplified form (brief strokes above single letters only) that does not attempt to copy the idiosyncrasies of the medieval scribes nor to add strokes where they were not written. Furthermore, the text and translation have been divided into numbered paragraphs, following as closely as possible those of the

243 P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971) 80–101 (repr. in idem, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* [Berkeley, 1982] 103–152), 'The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity', *Representations* 1 (1983) 1–25, *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1995) 57–78 (= essentially his 'Holy Men', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> XIV [2000] 781–810), 'Arbiters of Ambiguity: A Role of the Late Antique Holy Man', *Cassiodorus. Rivista di studi sulla tarda antichità* 2 (1996) 123–142, and 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997', *J ECS* 6 (1998) 353–376.

244 See also above, p. 23.

245 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 332–333, and 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', 39.

246 See, more extensively on the background of our edition, Dijkstra, 'Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier', esp. pp. 39–42.

247 Most notably in W.C. Till, 'La séparation des mots en copte', *BIFAO* 60 (1960) 151–170.

248 As is done, e.g. in L.T. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, 2 vols (Leuven, 1956).

translation published by Vivian, while correcting its errors.<sup>249</sup> The text additionally records, in the left margin, the (modern) folio numbers of codex Or. 7029, thus allowing the reader easy comparison with the original manuscript (as well as Budge's *editio princeps*).<sup>250</sup> The chapter headings in the translation (in boldface) have been added to guide the reader through the text and are, obviously, not part of the original text.

In order to account for our text, which is practically based upon a single manuscript, we have used the symbols of the so-called Leiden system, current in papyrological publications.<sup>251</sup> Thus, for the sake of easy legibility, we have resolved all abbreviations, including *nomina sacra*, using round brackets to show which letters were supplied by us. In the same way, square brackets are used to mark material lacunae in the manuscripts and subscript dots to signal characters that cannot be read with certainty. In our translation, square brackets are used only for lacunae that we have not been able to fill in and round brackets for brief additions that are indispensable for a correct interpretation of the text (including the identification of scriptural quotes and calendrical dates).

The *variae lectiones* of Budge's *editio princeps* and our corrections of simple scribal errors or orthographic peculiarities are given in a minimal apparatus at the bottom of the text pages. For Budge's *variae lectiones*, we have limited ourselves to substantial textual differences, as a rule neglecting differences in bracketing, word separation or superlineation. Disturbing scribal errors have been corrected in the text, with the reading of the manuscript given (as 'ms.') in the apparatus; unhabitual or potentially confusing spellings, are indicated in the apparatus (after 'read'). Otherwise, in order to respect the *état de langue* of the principal manuscript, we have not sought to harmonize its orthography. Discussion of more complicated text critical or interpretive issues is assigned to the commentary.

In order to re-contextualize the text as much as possible, the commentary is conceived of in an inclusive manner, discussing its historical, linguistic as well as literary aspects by paragraph and word, in the manner of classical commentaries. Accordingly, sections and episodes are introduced by a brief synopsis of the narrative printed in italics. The commentary then proceeds from larger to smaller units in the order in which they appear in the text. Comments on points of grammar and lexicon are hardly ever an aim in itself, but rather suited

249 Vivian, *Paphnutius*.

250 For the status of this foliation, see above, pp. 5–6.

251 See e.g. Pestman, *Prim.*<sup>2</sup> 15.

to guiding students through the text. General matters of language and orthography are treated in an earlier section of this Introduction, and not repeated in each case in the commentary. Only rare Greek loanwords and very unfamiliar spellings are noted in our commentary. The same holds for isolated non-standard spellings in the Egyptian vocabulary.

## *Text and Translation*



- 1a 1. [ - - - ] | [αγ]ω τΔιακονια ν̄ταγταν[ρο]γτ̄κ̄ ερος. ὧ̄ ναιατ̄ν̄ ανον [χε  
 α]πενκαρ̄ ρ̄ π̄ν̄πωα ν̄νεκτασ̄с[ε̄ε]τογαав. καλωс αqχoос̄ ν̄βιπ[ρ̄q̄]ψαλ-  
 λει ΔΔ(γi)Δ̄ χε̄ ρ̄ενμεp̄ιτ̄ не̄ н̄[ек]μᾱ ν̄ω̄ωπε̄ αγω on χε̄ ρ̄ενμεp̄[ιτ̄] не̄  
 етве̄ неγ̄ειoтe. п̄xοeic̄ пeтx̄[po] χε̄ αqωωπε̄ ρ̄ν̄ ογ̄ω̄ м̄н̄ ογ̄нос̄ н̄ρ̄[o]тe  
 м̄н̄ ογ̄ογpοт̄ ερoγ̄н̄ еpон̄. ай̄ [п̄]не̄εγ̄ε̄ м̄πωαχε̄ н̄та̄ п̄xοeic̄ xο[oq] ρ̄н̄ 5  
 п̄εγaггeλiон̄ χε̄ {п̄н̄ χε̄} п̄н̄[ῑ ε̄]тeтnαвωк̄ ερoγ̄н̄ еpоq̄, αxиc̄ н̄ω̄[o]p̄п̄  
 χε̄ †p̄н̄н̄н̄ м̄п̄eиn̄ † εωωπε̄ o[γ̄н̄] ω̄н̄p̄ē н̄eиp̄н̄н̄н̄ м̄μαγ̄, маp̄ē тeт̄[н̄eи]p̄н̄н̄н̄  
 н̄тoн̄ м̄мoс̄ ερ̄p̄aӣ εxωq̄ † εωωπε̄ м̄мoн̄, еp̄ē тeт̄н̄eиp̄н̄н̄н̄ [кoтc̄] εxωт̄н̄.  
 н̄тeρeиp̄ē Δē еpоoγ̄ [χε̄ ρ̄ен̄]ω̄н̄p̄ē н̄н̄p̄н̄н̄н̄ не̄, ай̄ω̄ н̄таeи[р̄н̄]н̄н̄ εр̄p̄aӣ  
 εxωoγ̄ кaтā п̄ωαχε̄ [м̄п̄eи]cαρ̄ т̄н̄p̄н̄, п̄eч(р̄icтo)с̄ i(н̄coγ̄)с̄ п̄eн̄xοeic̄. 10
2. [н̄тe]p̄ē п̄наγ̄ Δē ωωπε̄ аn̄eиp̄ē н̄т̄[с̄γ̄на]зic̄, аγ̄кω̄ ρ̄αρ̄ωн̄ н̄тe-  
 тpαп̄[εzα], аn̄ωλн̄λ̄ аn̄oγ̄ωн̄ н̄oγ̄[ōeиk̄ м̄н̄ н̄eн̄eр̄н̄]γ̄ а̄[н̄]† м̄[п̄ωп̄ ρ̄н̄oт̄  
 1b - - - ] | [oγ̄]ωм̄ м̄н̄ н̄eиp̄aγ̄ioc̄ н̄тē п̄ноγ̄[тē н̄]θē м̄p̄ēн̄p̄aλ̄ н̄αβpαpαм̄  
 н̄та[γ̄xι]т̄q̄ ερoγ̄н̄ ρ̄н̄ oγ̄pαωē αγω аγ̄x̄[ωк̄ εв̄]oλ̄ м̄п̄eчoγ̄ωω̄ т̄н̄p̄q̄.  
 аnок̄ [ρ̄]ω̄ аӣ† eоoγ̄ м̄п̄noγ̄тē χε̄ м̄п̄eчqо[с̄]† м̄п̄e†ω̄иn̄ē н̄cωq̄ † кaтā 15  
 пeтcн̄z̄ [x̄]ē ап̄eтeρ̄eн̄aγ̄ м̄п̄p̄ωм̄ē xωк̄ eвoл̄ [εq̄]oγ̄ωω† м̄п̄noγ̄тē.  
 м̄н̄н̄cᾱ тp̄н̄[eиp̄]ē Δē м̄п̄λxн̄иkон̄ аn̄x̄eк̄ тeγ̄[ω]н̄ т̄н̄p̄c̄ eвoл̄ eн̄ωλн̄λ̄  
 eн̄ωαχε̄ [ρ̄н̄] п̄ωαχε̄ м̄п̄noγ̄тē м̄н̄ н̄eс̄вoоγ̄ē [н̄н̄]eтoγaав̄.
3. eӣта̄ п̄eχaӣ м̄п̄p̄λλō [εтo]γaав̄ ап̄ā п̄cελeγ̄cиoc̄ н̄cᾱ oγ̄cᾱ [χε̄]  
 oγ̄cон̄ eн̄aн̄oγ̄q̄ п̄eтeкoγ̄н̄н̄z̄ [н̄н̄]мaγ̄ eтē ап̄ā zα{γ̄}вoγ̄λωн̄ п̄ē аγ̄[ω] 20  
 [o]γ̄p̄н̄н̄z̄н̄γ̄ п̄ē eан̄† zн̄γ̄ еpоq̄ e[маа]тē. п̄eχaγ̄ н̄aӣ χē аnок̄ ρ̄ω, [п̄ac̄]oн̄,  
 аӣ† zн̄γ̄ кaтā тeиp̄ē † аӣx̄ī [кω]† eвoл̄ zӣтoот̄q̄ zӣт̄н̄ п̄eθ̄b̄[вio] м̄н̄ п̄кapωq̄  
 eн̄eчoγ̄ωω̄ eӣ[н̄ē] м̄п̄eчωαχε̄ eθ̄н̄ ρ̄н̄ λaαγ̄ н̄z̄[ωв̄] † кaн̄ oγ̄кoγ̄ӣ п̄eт-  
 ωαχε̄ н̄н̄[маγ̄] кaн̄ oγ̄нос̄ п̄ē ωαqχoос̄ x̄ē [аn̄г̄ oγ̄a]†cooγ̄н̄.
- 2a 4. п̄eχaӣ н̄aγ̄ χē н̄[. . . . .] . eε̄ . . . н̄aω̄ н̄p̄ē ρ̄н̄ п̄eч[ - - - ] | [н̄]ep̄гa- 25  
 ciā н̄†μ̄иn̄ē; п̄eχaγ̄ н̄a[ῑ н̄]βӣ p̄p̄λλō χē cωт̄н̄ н̄тaтaм̄[ок̄.] н̄q̄x̄ī н̄aγ̄  
 н̄oγ̄c̄z̄иn̄ē ρ̄н̄ тeч̄н̄н̄т̄в̄p̄p̄ē † αγω н̄eч̄п̄pоkоп̄т̄eӣ ρ̄н̄ ρ̄ωв̄ н̄иm̄ † не̄ oγ̄п̄ap̄θe-  
 н̄oc̄ п̄ē x̄ӣн̄ тeч̄н̄н̄т̄кoγ̄ӣ αγω н̄eч̄п̄ӣт̄ eвoл̄ н̄c̄γ̄н̄тexiā н̄иm̄ н̄тē н̄eρ̄iooм̄ē  
 eч̄p̄ ρ̄oтē zн̄т̄q̄ м̄п̄ωαχε̄ eтcн̄z̄ χē п̄eтnαс̄ωω† н̄cᾱ oγ̄c̄z̄иn̄ē eep̄θ̄γ̄μ̄eӣ  
 еpоc̄ аqоγ̄ω̄ eч̄ō н̄н̄ōeиk̄ еpоc̄ ρ̄н̄ п̄eч̄p̄zн̄т̄ † αγω тeπ̄θ̄γ̄μ̄iā eαс̄ō̄ ωαc̄x̄п̄o 30  
 м̄п̄н̄oвē † п̄н̄oвē Δē eч̄ωαn̄x̄ωк̄ eвoл̄ ωαqμ̄иc̄ē м̄п̄μoγ̄. αγω н̄eч̄μoоωē ρ̄н̄  
 eθ̄b̄biō н̄иm̄. н̄тeиp̄ē Δē аqн̄aγ̄ eγ̄zopomā ρ̄ωc̄ x̄ē eч̄н̄aγ̄ eγ̄p̄ωм̄ē eч̄p̄ā eоoγ̄

1 н̄тaтaтaн̄[ρo]γт̄к̄ ms. 4 п̄eт[xoос̄] Budge || read ρ̄н̄ oγ̄eоoγ̄ 5 xω[q] Budge 6  
 п̄ē тeтnαвωк̄ Budge 7 н̄ н̄ω̄н̄p̄ē Budge 11 н̄[с̄γ̄на]зic̄ Budge || read ρ̄apон̄ 14  
 м̄п̄eчoγ̄ωω̄ ms. 19 oγ̄cα[ρ̄] Budge 20 zα{γ̄}вoγ̄λωн̄; α corr. < o 25 ]eε̄ · [а]ω̄  
 Budge || ρ̄н̄ п̄eи[ Budge 26 [аq]x̄ī Budge



## Paphnutius Meets Pseleusius and Zaboulon

1. [...] and the service that has been entrusted to you. Blessed are we that our land has become worthy of your holy footprints! The Psalmist David rightly said: "Beloved are your habitations" (Ps. 83:2), and (it is) also (written): "Beloved are they because of their fathers" (Rom. 11:28). It is the Lord who triumphs! For he became full of reverence, great respect and good will towards us. I remembered the word that the Lord spoke in the Gospel: 'In the house that you will enter, first say: "Peace be with this house". If there are children of peace, let your peace rest upon it. If not, your peace shall return to you' (Luke 10:5–6). When I had found that they were children of peace, I allowed my peace (to rest) upon them, according to the word of the teacher of us all, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

2. When the time had come, we celebrated the Eucharist. The table was laid for us, we prayed, ate some bread with each other and said grace [...] eating with these saints of God, just like the servant of Abraham who was received with joy and whose wish was entirely fulfilled (cf. Gen. 24). As for me, I glorified God that he had not deprived me of what I was looking for. As it is written: what the man wished was fulfilled as he worshipped God. After we had said the vespers, we stayed up all night praying and discussing the word of God and the teachings of the saints.

3. Then I said to the holy old man Apa Pseleusius in private, 'A good brother is he with whom you are living, Apa Zaboulon, and a valuable man, from whom we profited greatly'. He said to me, 'I too, my brother, profited likewise (from him). I was edified by him through humility and silence, since he did not want his word to take precedence in anything. Whether the person who spoke with him was insignificant or whether he was eminent, he tended to say: "I am ignorant"'.

## The Story of Pseleusius

4. I said to him, '[...] how in his [...] such labour?' The old man said to me, 'Listen and I shall tell you'. He (Pseleusius) never took a wife for himself in his youth and made progress in every respect. He was a virgin from his childhood and fled all contact with women for he respected the word that is written: 'He who looks at a woman to desire her has already committed adultery with her in his heart' (Matt. 5:28), and: 'Desire, when it has conceived, gives birth to sin, and sin, when it is accomplished, brings forth death' (Jas. 1:15). And he lived in total humility. Thus he saw a vision to the effect that he

- 2b 5  
 ηπεφμητο εβολ εφχω ημος δε μη βοη νλααυ ερ ζμηζαλ ηχοεις σναυ η  
 νμημερε ογα η νμημεστε ογα. ται ζωωυ τε τεκζε, πασον πελεεγσιος, εακ-  
 σπογδαζε εγζωβ ενανογυ. κατα θε ετσηζ ζμη παποστολος χ[ε η]ερε  
 λααυ εφο ηματοι ταζζ μη [νεζβηγε ηπιος δε εφεαρес]κε | [η]πενταφ-  
 ααυ ηματοι. εωω[π]ε δε οη ερωαν ογα ρ ωοειλ ηεφχι κлом ειμηται  
 νμημωε καλωс. κναχρο нса ογнам аγω нса ρβογρ. аγω ητεγνογ аφρ  
 атоγωηζ εβολ ηβι πετωαδε ηημαυ' аφλο εφнаγ ероу.
- 3a 10  
15  
20  
25  
30  
 5. ηтере ζτοογε δε ωωπε' νεγν ογρωμε ηζλλο ογνηηζ ζιτογωυ εογн-  
 тау ημαυ ηпсоογн ηнеграφη, ηεωαφωκ ωароу ηζαζ ηсоп ημωηне  
 εβολ ζιτοотζ εтве ηанагнωсис εωαγδωγ ζн текκλнcia, ηе ογмай-  
 зηке τωноу пе, аγω οη ηεωαφχω ероу ηηεμееге ηζαζ ηсоп ημтет  
 πεφзнт ζн негра[ф]η ετογαав. ηтерφωк ογн [ω]ароу ημχω ероу  
 ηпзорома ηтаφнаγ ероу δε еφ(ε)сγнвоγлеу[ε'] πεхау (х)е апотассе  
 ηпетантак τηρζ ηгчи ηпекст(аγ)рос ηгоγλ[ζ]к нса пекχоеис, ηгкω  
 (η)ηетη[ο]ογт еτω[мс ηн]εγρμooγт ет . [ - - - ] | еτωογeit. ηη ηпек-  
 сωтн епх(ое)с еφωω εβολ ζн ηεγαггелион δε ηερε λααυ таде тоотζ  
 εχн ογзбве ηгкотζ епазоу ηгсоογтн εзоγн етннтеро ηнпнге; пει-  
 ωαδε δε δε σωωт епазоу ηсγмаηе ηнпроογω ηпкосмос еτωογeit  
 ηн ηεφγλει ηтнтнсоγωноу. теноу бе, памерит ηсоп, тоγωω ηен аη  
 етркωк ηгкаат етве текепстгнμει ηн тек(син)еи ωарои етμεζ ηзηγ,  
 аλλα тоγωω οη етрекмооде ζн птωзη ηтаγтазмек ероу. τωογн  
 ηгωк ωа ηесннγ ηсет ζωωк ηпесχнма ηтннтмонохос аγω сената-  
 мок еое етμωе ерок εаас.
- 3b 30  
 6. аγω ηтеize аφωк ката θε ηтаφχоос ηβι ηζλλο. аφωк ератоу  
 ηηесннγ епма етоγмоγте еро[у] δε - - - оγρ]ωме еφογн[ζ] ζη пма етн-  
 маγ ере пе]чран [пе ιωзанннс, еφо ηρεφρзо]те | аγω ηас'тос еπεзоγо,  
 ере пецзо оγетоγωт емате ηн пецωма τηρζ εβολ ηπεзоγо ηнасκнсис'  
 ката θε етσηζ δε зентнζ ηβромпе еγλαλωγ ηζат аγω пкωте ηηес-  
 назв ζн πογотоγет ηппоγв. ηтаφхе пай етве пқи езраи ηнбix ηпζλλο  
 ηпггпос ηнтнζ ката неграφη' аγω ηппре ηпζат еφeine ημοу еχн  
 ηеωλнλ еттбвнγ аγω πογотоγет ηппоγв еχн πογотоγет ηнасκнсис.  
 ката петσηζ δε ηαιатоу ηηетоγαав [ζ]η пεγзнт δε ηтооу ηетнамаγ

11 ηηεμееге ms. 14 ηпетантау ms., read ηпетентак 15 еτω[мс: етемē Budge

saw before him a man full of glory who said, “No one can serve two masters: either he loves one or he hates another” (Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13). This is also the case with you, my brother Pseleusius, even though you have been zealous for a good work. As it is written in the Apostle: “No one who is a soldier gets entangled in the affairs of civilian life in order to please the one who made him a soldier. And also, when someone is an athlete, he will not be crowned unless he competes well” (2 Tim. 2:4–5). You will be victorious on the right and on the left hand side’. And immediately the one who spoke with him vanished and he stopped seeing him.

5. Then it became morning. Next to him lived an old man who had knowledge of the Scriptures. He often went to him and inquired of him about the lectures that were read in church. He was a great lover of the poor and also frequently told him his thoughts and strengthened him through the Holy Scriptures. When he went to him, then, and told him of the vision that he had seen in order that he might give him advice, he said, ‘Renounce everything that you own, take up your cross and follow your Lord. And let the dead bury their dead (cf. Matt. 8:22, 10:38). [...] that is vain. Have you not heard the Lord proclaim in the Gospels: “No one who puts his hand to the plough and turns backwards is fitted for the kingdom of heaven” (Luke 9:62)? This word “to look backward” signifies that we should ignore the vain cares of the world and its material aspects. Well, then, my beloved brother, because of your knowledge and valuable visits to me I do not want you to go and leave me, but on the other hand I want you to follow the vocation to which you have been summoned. Rise and go to the brothers in order that they may clothe you with the habit of monastic life and tell you how it is fitting for you to act’.

### Pseleusius Tells about His Master John

6. And thus he departed as the old man had told him. He went to the brothers in the place that is called [...] a man who lived in that place, whose name was John. He was extremely devout and civilized, and his face and entire body were exceedingly pallid on account of excessive asceticism, as it is written: ‘Dove wings covered with silver and the region of her back with the pallor of gold’ (Ps. 67:14). He (the Psalmist) said this because the raising of the old man’s hands (in prayer) corresponds to the wings, as described in the Scriptures, and he compares the lustre of silver to the pure prayers (of the man) and the pallor of gold to the pallor of asceticism. As it is written: ‘Blessed are those who are pure in their heart, for they will see God’ (Matt. 5:8). He was a

επνοῦτε. νε οὐρῶν πῆρισε [π]ε ἀγῶ νεωαφρ οὐγῶν ἡροεις πε [ν]ῆαζ νσοπ.  
 νεωαφογῶμ δε он [н]ῆαζ νсоп зῆν εντηс нөө нῶ[за]нннс пваптистис  
 нтаγρῆ[ῆ]тρε зароу х[е] теуэре де не зенωхе не н[ῆ] οὐεβ[ιε] зооγт  
 4a --- ]оп[ --- ] | εтве птѣво мπεφзнт мῆ пт[ῆ]во ἡπεφсωма.

7. ἀφχοос ἡβι π[αει]ωт ετογᾶав ἀπα псеλεγсис х[ε] ωαφнау εῖαζ 5  
 ἡβωλῆ εβολ нῆа[з] νсоп ἀγῶ φαхе нм εωαφχοо[γ] νεωαγῶωπε мме·  
 νεωαφнау зῆн неφзорасис нөө ἡδанил πε[ιρῆ]нау εβολ. πεхаφ он ἡβι  
 ἀπα π[се]λεγсис хе нтерiei ογн φароу, ете пентаиωρῖ φαхе ероу, ете  
 ι[ω]заниннс пе пентаихе неиωахе тнроу етвннтῶ, ἀφωоптῆ ер[οι] зῆ  
 ογнос нῆмῆнтмаирωме аγ[ω] мπειсῆ лаау зῆ пεφма нωω[πε] εимнтей 10  
 ωомῆт ноeик ммате еγμмау етве ἡωῆмо етнапа[ра]ге, мнпоте ἡсе-  
 χοос хе пῆλλ[ο] ογем оeик аη.

8. ἡтерiсῶ де зαз[тнq] ἀπαρακαλει ммоу етрῶт зiω[ωт] мπε- 4b  
 схнна η[тῆн]тμονохос [ --- ] . нте . [ --- ] х . [ --- ] | [ . ] . нкωт  
 ἡтῆнтμονохос. ἀγῶ [п]εхаφ наi хе оу пасон пселеγсi[ос], φснз хе а 15  
 некωахе злос зῆ [т]аωоγωве, пх(оеi)с, нзоγо еγевiω зῆ рωi. еπειαη  
 акхноγi, па[ω]нре, етве тесвω хе ωωпе е[т]етῆтсаниη ἡназрῆ на  
 пвол [а]γῶ ететῆхокῖ зῆ пεζмоу н[θе] нта пс(ωт)нр χοос зῆ пεγaг-  
 гели'о'(н) [н]нефапостоλос хе нтωтῆ пе [пе]ζмоу мпказ. ωωпе нрῆ-  
 раω [аγ]ω нβαλзнт ката θе нта пен[χο]eic χοос хе eic зннте анок 20  
 †[χο]оу ммωтῆ нөө нзенесооу етнн[нт]е нзен(ογ)ωнῶ. ωωпе сe  
 нсаβε [нөө] ἡνειзоу ἀγῶ накаирαιос нөө [нн]еiсромпе. ἀφχοоγсoγ  
 зωс есооу [ал]ла мπεφтанзет тῆнтатрооγω [нн]есооу етреγмооωе  
 нзнтс, нсе[ка] неγзнт εβολ етве ммееγе ἡῆ[δα]ιμονιον. етβε пᾱ! 25  
 5a ἀφχοоs [нωо]рῖ хе ω[ωпе] нсаβε нөө нνειзоу нте]тῆк[ --- ] аη[ --- ] |  
 зῆ ογβωλ εβολ оγде етῆка пензнт εβολ зῆ (ογ)ογῶм ἡῆоγсω ἡῆ оγзη-  
 донн хе пенανδiδiкос, πiαβωλос, мооωе еφсорῶ епрωме, еφελзнн  
 нөө ннеiмоγi, еφωпe нса ωмῆ ἡnenγχн.

9. ἡтерiр зензооу де зαзтнq еφтаγо ер'ο'i нνειωахе мῆ неттῆ- 30  
 тωн ерооу, ἀπαρακαλει ммоу етрῶхiт еγма маγаат. нтеiзе де аφент  
 еπειма· аφсῶ зαзтнн ἡзензооу φантеφтсавоi етсiноγωz маγаат зi  
 пхаie, еаφт етоот ἡзенентолн мῆ тсiнqi εзpai за ммееγе ἡῆδαιμο-  
 нιον мῆ тсiнмиωе етсaωе. аφкаат маγаат φанте пасон завоγλωн ei  
 φароi.

14 [ῆ ῆ мῆт]μονохос Budge 15 ογ: read ω 23 етрῶмооωе ms. 26 пεзнт Budge

toiler and frequently passed the night in vigil. He also often ate herbs as John the Baptist did, about whom it is testified that 'his food consisted of sprigs and wild honey' (Matt. 3:4). [...] because of the purity of his heart and the purity of his body.

7. My holy father Apa Pseleusius said that he saw many revelations many times and that every word that he said came true. He saw (these things) in his visions just as that seer Daniel did. Apa Pseleusius also said, 'When I, then, had come to him—that is, the one about whom I have talked before, namely John, about whom I spoke all these words—he received me with great kindness and I did not find anything in his dwelling except only three loafs of bread that were there because of the strangers who would pass by, in case they would think that the old man did not eat bread.

8. When I remained with him, I asked him to clothe me with the habit of monastic life [...] the rules of monasticism. And he said to me, "My brother Pseleusius, it is written: 'Your words have become sweet in my throat, Lord, sweeter than honey in my mouth' (Ps. 118:103). Since you have asked me, my son, for instruction, be well behaved towards laymen and be seasoned with salt, just as the Saviour said to his apostles in the Gospel: 'You are the salt of the earth' (Matt. 5:13). Be mild and simple, just as our Lord said: 'See, I send you out like sheep into the midst of wolves; so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves' (Matt. 10:16). He sent them out like sheep, but he did not entrust them to walk in the carelessness of sheep and let their hearts go astray because of the thoughts of demons. That is why he first said: 'Be wise as serpents', and you [...] in dissolution nor let our hearts go astray by eating, drinking and pleasure, for our adversary the Devil roams around, hunting for man, roaring like a lion and seeking to swallow our souls!" (cf. 1 Pet. 5:8).

9. When I had passed some days with him, while he told me these and similar words, I asked him to take me to a place for me alone. Thus he brought me to this place and remained with us for some days until he had taught me how to live alone in the desert. And he imposed upon me some commandments and (told me) how to bear the thoughts of demons and (about) the bitter fight (against them). He left me on my own until my brother Zaboulon came to me'.



### Monks in the Inner Desert: Pseleusius Tells the Story of Anianus and Paul

10. Then I said to him, 'I beg you, my father Pseleusius, since there is [...]. The old man answered and said to me, 'Since you have asked, I shall tell you, though nothing is hidden from you. Even what is concealed from you by men the Holy Spirit reveals to you'. I said to him, 'Please, my father, do not let your servant down'. He answered and said to me, 'Since you have asked, I shall tell you'.

11. He said, 'Once I went into the inner desert for about a two days' journey. I found some small date palms in a valley, a spring of water and some herbs around them. I sat down near the spring to rest a bit, as I was tired from the road, and said, "Are there brothers here or not?" As I was thinking like this I looked and saw two men [...] some dates and they brought a bit of water for me to drink. I wished to remain with them there, but remembered my brother Zaboulon. I could not stay away from him, as the Apostle says: "When a great door was opened for me in the Lord, I did not find rest in my spirit, for I did not find my brother Titus" (2 Cor. 2:12–13). And also: "I planted, Apollo watered, God gave the growth" (1 Cor. 3:6). I said to them, "How did you arrive here? What do you eat? What are your names and where are you from? And how do you celebrate the Eucharist while you are here?"

12. They said, "We are from the city of Aswan. We have been of one mind ever since we are in the world and are friends with each other. We went to church together every day, evening and morning, as we listened to the Holy Scriptures that were read and the readings from the Gospel, in particular: 'Whoever loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me' (Matt. 10:37), and: 'Whoever will not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me' (Matt. 10:38).

13. When we heard these words of life from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, the lover of mankind, and similar ones, such as: 'Whoever loves his soul will lose it'; and: 'Whoever will lose his soul because of me will find it'; and again: 'If a man gains the whole world and loses his soul, what profit will he have? Or what will a man give in exchange for his soul?' (Matt. 16:25–26)—when we heard these things, we together made a joint decision. The word of God was sweeter for us than honey and the honeycomb (cf. Ps. 18:11) and together we fixed a day on which we would leave the city. We lingered for a couple of days, thinking that perhaps it were the demons who tempted us, but when we realized that it was good resolve that prompted us not to give up, we distributed the excess of our possessions to the poor, took a few loaves of bread and left the city. We embarked on a small boat and went into the desert, to a place called the Hilltop.

14. ἀνοῶντες μὴ γενεσὴν εὐογαὰς ἐγὼ πᾶς ἐτῆμας ἐτβε καὶ οὐκ  
οὔνοσ γενεοῦγε ὅσοις γὰρ πεοῦοειω ἐτ[μ]μας κατὰ πνοῦτε. ἀνα-  
παντὰ ἐγὼ εὐογαὰς ἐπεφραν πε ζαχα[ίος] ἐαφωσὶ γὰρ ταναχωρίσις  
ἐγὰς [μ]τῆς ἐματὲ πε, ἐγὼ κέσων σῆαυ [οὔ]νηζ γίτοῦωφ ἐνεφμαῶντῆς  
μ[ε]. πρᾶν μπόγα μμοοῦ πε σαρ[α]πᾶμ[ων] ἀγὼ πρᾶν μπεοῦγα πε μαθ- 5  
θαί[ος]. ἐαγὲ ἐρραι γὰρ οὔνοσ ναῶλῆσις [μ]μῆτρῶν γιμὸτ ἐγσὼτῆ σκα  
πρῶλλο ἀπα ζαχαίος γὰρ γὼβ μ[ι]μ] ἐτῆμαχοοῦ ναῦ.

15. σαραπᾶμων [Δε] ἀφῆπο ναφ νογαγαπῆ ἐτε ται τ[ε]. ἐρῶαν  
οὔρῳμε ἐι ἐφῶνιμ σκα π[ε]φ[γ]γὼβ ἡσιχ ἐτρῶῳπῶ ἡτοοτῶ, ὡαφκῶτε  
ἐνεσὴν ὡρῶπ ἡ[μ]χοοσ ναῦ καὶ πετεοῦνταφ γῶβ[μ]σιχ μμαγ μαρῶ- 10  
ἐντῶ ναι [ντατ] τῆφ[μ]μ ναῦ. ἀγὼ νεφ[αφ] πεφγῶβ] ἡσιχ ἐφσποῦΔαζ[ε  
.....] γῶβ ἡσιχ [...]. | ἐι ὡαρῶφ ἐφσσοῦν καὶ ὡαφχίτῶ ἡσῶντ ὡαφτ  
πῶφ ναφ. ἐφμε Δε ὅν μποσε ἡζοῦδ ἐπρηνῦ ἀγὼ πσῶφ ἡζοῦο ἐπταίο.  
ἀφῶ γὰρ τᾶγαπῆ ὡα πεζοοῦ μπεφῶκ ἐβῶλ.

16. μαθ[ε]αίος Δε γὼωφ ἀφῆπο ντεῖπολυτᾶ ται. νεμεφῖθε γὰρ ἐνεζ 15  
ἐν πεφ[ω]α καὶ ἐθῆ γὰρ λααῦ ἡφᾶξε ἀγὼ [ὅν] ἐρῶαν οὔα χνοῦφ ἐγλε-  
ζις γὰρ [νε]γραφῆ ὡαφῶωφ ναφ ντῆε [κα] καὶ ἐβῶλ {ἡτῆε} ντῆνοι  
αν. [κα]πῆρ [ο]ὔνοσ σκαρ πε ἐαγπαίΔεγε [μ]μοῦ γὰρ νεσζαι ἡνεγραφῆ  
ἐτοῦ[Δα]β. ἀγὼ ντεῖε ἀμῶτον μμοῦ [γν] σοῦ μῆτῆ μπεβῶτ παῶνε.

17. [πρῶ]λλο Δε γὼωφ ντανῶρπ ὡα[κα] ἐρῶφ, ἐτε ἀπα ζαχαίος 20  
πε, ντοῦ [πε]νταφτσαβὼν ἐτῖνοῦωζ γι π[κα]ε ἀγὼ ντοῦ πενταφτ  
γῶωφ [μπε]σῆμα ἡτῆμῆτῆμονοχος ἀγὼ [μπε]λο ἐφῶαξε ἡμᾶν ἐτβε  
ναρε[τῆ]ν ν[ε]τοῦγαὰς ἐτῆ πᾶιε, ναι ἐτ[σποῦ]Δαζε ἐτῆμας ἐρῶμε, ἀφτ  
[ἐτοοτ]ῆ νογᾶκίσις ἐσῶαχῶ μ[ν] γεννοσ ν[γ]ε ἀγὼ νεφγῶν ἐτ[οοτῆ]ν 25  
καὶ καπῆρ ἐφῆν τεῖμῆτῆρῶλλο.

18. νε οὔπαρῶενοσ πε χῖν πεφῆπο ἐφῆπῆ ἐβῶλ νσῆντεχῖα μῖμ ντε 30  
νεζιοομε μῖμ καὶ γρᾶφ μῖμ, ἐφμε μπρῖμε ἡζοῦο ἐπσῶβε ἐμεφκα τοοτῶ  
ἐβῶλ μπρῖμε μπεζοοῦ μῖμ τεγῶν. ἀνχοοσ Δε ναφ νογζοοῦ καὶ παεῖωτ,  
ἐτβε οὔ κρῖμε ἡτεῖε; ντοῦ Δε πεχᾶφ καὶ ὡφ ἐ[ρ]αποτακ[τ]κος μῖμ 35  
ἐτῆκα τοοτῶ ἐβῶλ μπεζοοῦ μῖμ τεγῶν ἐφρῖμε ἐχῆ νεφῶβε. ἡε ἐτῆε  
καὶ ναῖτοῦ μνετῶ γῆβε καὶ ντοοῦ νετοῦνασῖσῶποῦ. ἐρῶαν τελεζις  
τᾶε τηγῆ, τετῆμῆτον μῶτῆ ἐβῶλ γὰρ νετῆε. ὡφ γὰρ ἐρῶμε μῖμ  
ἐκῶ γὰ ἐῖτοῦ μπεῖωμῆ[τ] ἡζῶβ ἐτε ναι νε τεγῖνει ἐβῶ[λ] γὰρ σῶμα.  
πῆρῖμεεγε νταποφᾶσις ἐτῆατᾶζον μπεζοοῦ μῖμοσ ἡζᾶπ ἐτῆε ζῶτε. 35

1 ἀναῶντες Budge 22 [πρῶ]λλο ἐρῶαξε Budge 24–25 ἐτοοτῆ [...] ἡνετῆτῆχ[η] Budge  
25 ππολυτᾶ Budge



### Anianus and Paul Tell the Story of Zachaeus and His Disciples Sarapamon and Matthew

14. We lived with some holy brothers who stayed in that place, for there was great plenty at that time in the eyes of God. We met a holy old man whose name was Zachaeus. He had spent a long time in the anchoretic life, as he was extremely ascetic, and two brothers lived next to him who were his disciples. One of them was called Sarapamon and the other Matthew. They engaged in a great contest of gratitude, as they obeyed the old man Apa Zachaeus in everything that he would tell them.

15. Sarapamon acquired a charity which was such that, when someone came to collect his handiwork in order to buy it from him, he first turned to the brothers and said to them, 'Whoever has handiwork let him bring it to me and I shall give him its price'. And he did his handiwork full of zeal [...] handiwork [...] came to him, knowing that he ill-treated him, gave him what was his. And he loved loss more than gain and disgrace more than honour. He persisted in this charity until the day of his perfection (in death).

16. Matthew, on the other hand, attained such a way of life that he never sought to let his word take precedence in any matter. And when someone would ask him about a passage in the Scriptures he answered thus, 'Forgive me, I do not know,' even though he was a great teacher who had been educated in the Holy Scriptures. And as such he went to rest on the fifteenth of the month Paone (9 June).

17. Now it was the old man whom we have mentioned before, that is, Apa Zachaeus, who instructed us in the way of living in the desert and clothed us with the habit of monasticism. He did not stop talking to us about the virtues of the holy men living in the desert, they who are intent upon seeing no one. He imposed on us a harsh asceticism and great suffering, and ordered us, 'Constrain your souls [...] since he engaged in such a harsh way of life, even if he was in this old age.

18. He was a virgin from his birth, who fled all contact with women and all amusement. He loved weeping more than laughter and did not stop crying day or night. One day we asked him, 'Father, why do you cry so much?' And he said, 'It is fitting for every ascetic not to stop weeping over his sins day and night, as it is written: "Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted" (Matt. 5:4). If this passage applies to you, you will find relief from your suffering. It is fitting for everyone to keep these three things in mind: one's departure from the body (and) the remembrance of the sentence that will be passed upon us on the day of the great and terrible judgment.

19. και γαρ τῆς ωτῆς ἐτβε πνοῶς μωγςης ἄε ῥῆ πτῖρῳ̄φι ἐρραι ἵντεφ-  
 8b σιχ' σῆτε {ῆσιχ} φαφ{τῳ̄}σωτῖπ ἡπαμάληκ' ἄγω ον ἄε ῥῆ [πτῖρ]ῳ̄εντοῦ  
 ἐπεσῆτ φαφσωτῖπ | [ἡπ(σρα)ἡ]λ νφσῆ σῶμ νοῖ παμάληκ. πεχᾶς γαρ  
 ῆσι τεγρᾶφῆ ἐτοῦααβ ἄε νερε ἀαρων φι ἐρραι ῥα τσιχ ῆοῦναμ ἡμωγ-  
 σης, ὡρ ῥωωφ ῥα τεφρβοῦρ' ἄγω ῆτειρε ῥῆ πτρεῦτωοῦν ἐρραι ῥι οὔσῶπ 5  
 ῥῆ οὔζομονια ῆοῦωτ ῥα νεφσιχ φαφσωτῖπ νοῖ παμάληκ. πεχᾶφ ον  
 ῆσι πεςῥαι ἐτοῦααβ ἄε ἄγω νερε ἀαρων φι ἐρραι ῥα νεφσιχ φᾶ πῆαγ  
 ῆροῦρε' ἐτε παῖ πε παρε τῆρῳ̄ ἡπρῶμε. ται τε ὅε ῆρῶμε ἡμ ἐφῆαφι  
 ῆνεφσιχ ἐρραι ἡπῖγῖος ἡπест(ἄγ)ρος ῆπex(ῖστο)ς' φαφσωτῖπ ῆνεφ-  
 χᾶξε τῆροῦ νοῖ ἡμωγςης ἡταφσωτῖπ ῆπαμάληκ ῥῆ πφι ἐρραι ῆνεφ- 10  
 σιχ.

20. ἀαρων μεν ἐρε τεγρᾶφῆ εἰνε ἡμ'ο'φ ἐχῆ ἡμα ῆῆμτον ἐτῥῆ ῆπῆγε  
 ἡῆ τεῦφροςῖνῆ ἐτῥῆ οἰε(ροῦσα)λῆμ ῆτπε ἡῆ πεῶρονος ἄγω νεστολῆ  
 ἐτοῦναταᾶγ ῥι νετοῦααβ. κατὰ ὅε ἐτςῆ ἄε ἀκπεω ταῶοῦνε, ἀκμορῖ  
 9a ῆοῦοῦνοφ' ἄγω ον (ἄε) ἐснар π{ῆπ}φᾶ ἡκοῖνωнос ἡῆ ῆωῖρῖμῖσε ἐτςῆ 15  
 ῥῆ ἡπῆγε, ἡῆ [ππα]ῖρᾶλεῖσος ἐτῥῆ ἡμα ῆωᾶ, [νετε μ]πεβαλ ἡαγ ἐροοῦ  
 ἡπεῆαᾶχ[ε] σῶτῖμοῦ ἡποῦαλε ἐρραι ἐχῆ π[ῥῆτ] ῆῆρῶμε, ἡαι ἀπῖοῦτε  
 σῶτωτ[οῦ] ἡῆετμε ἡμοφ.

21. ὡρ ἄε ῥωωφ [ερε] τεγρᾶφῆ εἰνε ἡμοφ ἐχῆ ἡκ[ῖρ]ῖς ἡῆ πφ(ῆ)τ  
 ἡατῆκῶτῖ ἡῆ [πει]ᾶ ἡπῖρῖμε ἡῆ πῶοῖρε ῆῆνωβ[ῥε] ἡῆ πκακε ἐτῥῖ- 20  
 वोλ ἡῆ τῶωτ[ε] ἡπῖοῦν ἄγω πειρο ῆκῶρῖτ [π]ετςῶκ ἐτῖ ῥῶτε  
 ἐῆαᾶτε. ἐρω[ᾶἡ] οὔα γαρ κα περῖμῆεῖγε ἡῆαι ῥ[ῆ] πεφῥῆτ ἡπῆαγ ἐτεφ-  
 ἡαῶλῆ[λ], φᾶρε πεφςῶπῖ πῶε φᾶ πεῶρον[ος] ἡπῖοῦτε ἄγω ῥῶβ ἡμ  
 ἐτεφ[ῆα]ᾶῖτεῖ ἡμοοῦ ἡτῖ πῖοῦτε сена[φω]πε ἡαφ' κατὰ πετςῆ ἄε  
 πςῶπῖ [ῆ]πᾶῖκαῖος ῆῆ σῶμ ἐῆαᾶτε ἄγω φεῆεργεῖ' ἄγω φᾶφσωτῖπ 25  
 ἡπα[ῆα]λῆκ ε{τ}ῶἡπ ἡῆ νεφεῆεργῖα.

22. ᾶ[γ]ω πῥῶβ сῆаγ ἐτεφῶλῆλ ἐτῖ[ῆ]ῆτοῦ, πῥᾶφῆ ἡῆ πῖρῖμε'  
 9b πῥ[ᾶφῆ] μεν ἐτβε {πῖρῖμε ἡῆ} πῖρῖμῆε[γῆ] ῆῆῆμα ῆῆμτον ἐτῥῆ ἡπῆγε'  
 πῖρῖμε ἄε ῥωωφ ἐτβε πῖρῖμ[εῖγε] ἡῆκῶλῖς ἐτῥῆ ἀῆῆτε. | [ἐτβε παῖ],  
 ῆαῶῆρε, ὡφῆ ἐρῶμε [ἡμ ε]ῖω ῥα εῖατοῦ ἡπῖρῖμῆεῖγε [ῆ]πειῥῶβ сῆаγ 30  
 таῆапаγςῖς ἄγῶ [ῆ]ῖσε. ῆτερῆῖσε οὔν νοῦκοῦῖ [τῆῆα]ῖρε ἐтаῆапаγ-  
 сῖς.

23. ἡαι ἄε ἡτε[ῖρ]ῖς ωτῆς ἐροοῦ ῆτοοτῳ̄ ἡπῥᾶλλο [ετο]ῦααβ ἡпа захаῖ-  
 ос, ἀῆμοῦῥ [ῆρ]ᾶφῆ ἄγω πεχᾶν ἡαφ ἄε ἀῖ π[ῆα] ῆῆῆμᾶν ῆῆῆῖτῖ  
 εῖῆᾶ ῆ[φω]ῖε ἐκςῶοῦν ἄε τῆῆῆαοῦχᾶῖ ῆ[ῥῆ]τῳ̄. ἄγω ῆτειρε ἄφῖ ἡαν 35  
 [ῆῥε]ῆοεῖκ ἡῆ ᾶῶῶμε сῆаγ ἄφ[ῆοο]φῆ ῆῆῆμᾶν φᾶτεφεντῖ ἐ[ῥοῦ]ῆ

3 πεχᾶς: αсхω Budge  
 ῆῆῆαγ ms.

25 φῆεργεῖ ms., first ε corr. < ρ

28 ἐτῥῆ ἡπῆγε ms. 36

19. Indeed, we hear about the great Moses that when he raised both his hands he defeated Amalek and when he lowered them he defeated Israel, and Amalek prevailed (cf. Exod. 17:11). For the Holy Scripture says that Aaron raised the right hand of Moses and Hur his left hand, and thus as they lifted his hands together in perfect harmony Amalek was defeated (cf. Exod. 17:12–13). And the Holy Scripture also says: And Aaron lifted his hands until the evening (cf. Exod. 17:12), which is to say, the entire lifetime of man. In the same way everyone who will raise his hands after the model of the cross of Christ will defeat all his enemies just as Moses did, who defeated Amalek by raising his hands.

20. As for Aaron, Scripture compares him to the places of rest that are in the heavens, the joy that is in heavenly Jerusalem, the throne and the garments with which the saints will be clothed, according to what is written: “You have torn my sackcloth, you have girded me with joy” (Ps. 29:12); and also: “She (heavenly Jerusalem) will celebrate in communion with the firstborn who are written in the heavens” (cf. Heb. 12:22–23)—and (Scripture compares him to) the paradise that lies in the East, “the things that no eye has seen, no ear has heard and have not entered into the heart of men, the very things that God prepared for those who love him” (1 Cor. 2:9).

21. Scripture compares Hur, on the other hand, to the judgments, the worm that never sleeps, the valley of weeping, the gnashing of teeth, the outer darkness, the pit of the abyss and the river of fire that flows and frightens immensely. For if someone admits the remembrance of these things in his heart at the time in which he is going to pray, his prayer will reach the throne of God and he will obtain everything that he will ask for from God, as it is written: “The prayer of the righteous is very powerful and effective” (Jas. 5:16), and it defeats the invisible Amalek and its agents.

22. And regarding the two reasons why one prays, joy and weeping: joy is because of the remembrance of the places of rest in heaven and weeping is because of the remembrance of the punishments in hell. Therefore, my sons, it is fitting for everyone to keep in mind the remembrance of these two things, rest and suffering. Indeed, when we have suffered a little, we shall find rest’.

23. When we heard these things from the holy old man Apa Zachaeus, we became full of joy and said to him: ‘Have pity on us and take us to a dwelling where you know that we shall be saved’. Accordingly, he gave us some loaves of bread and two books and walked with us until he brought us here. He



remained with us for some days until we became familiar with the way of living in the desert. And he imposed strict commandments and nightly vigils on us, as well as a moderate diet of eating and drinking. And he taught us how the demons tempt men in many forms, as it is written in the Apostle: 'Our fight is not against blood and flesh, but against the rulers, against the powers, against the spirits of evil that are under the heavens' (Eph. 6:12). For the demons fight with each other naked during the night. And he told us to observe certain rules whenever brothers came to us.

### **End of the Story of Anianus and Paul**

24. Thus he went away from us, and he went to rest on the eleventh of Thoth (8 September). But we, our holy father, have stayed in this place until today, while we obtain our food from these date palms. And whenever we go into the outer desert, we celebrate the Eucharist together with the brothers on Saturday and Sunday. Look, we have told you about our ascetic way of life, now you for your part, our holy father, please pray for us in return".

25. I went away from them and lived in my dwelling. One of them was called Anianus and the other Paul. Within a few days we heard from a brother who used to go to them frequently to visit them that both of them had gone to rest, Anianus on the twentieth (17 October) and Paul on the third of Paope (30 September). When our brother Banouphiel heard this, he went, brought their bodies and buried them near him.

### **Papnutius and Pseleusius Visit Apa Isaac**

26. Well then, my brother Paphnutius, we have told you these things about those who live in the desert, about those whom I have seen and heard as well as the recollection of their fathers whom they succeeded, and their perfection (in death). There is something (more) we would like to say about the holy old man Apa Isaac, of great renown, who spent the beginning of his life (...) before he became a monk here (and) who lives on the island in the middle of the Cataract, about four miles to the south of us. He was himself a disciple of the holy old man Apa Aaron and poured water upon his hands, just as the great Elisha did with the prophet Elijah (cf. 2 Kgs. 3:11), a man truly perfect in many different virtues'.

27. ντερисωτῆ οὖν <ν>μμακαρισμος μπειρωμε ντειμινε, αισῆσι  
 11a παειωτ | [πς]ελεγσιος ειχω μμοc [χε χιτ ζω ω]αροϋ ἡταρ πῆπωα  
 μπεϋςμοϋ. [τ]αι τε θε ντανωληλ ῒ πεϋμα νωωπε ανει εβολ αναλε  
 εγκοϋι нскафос ανῖ ζωτ ернс етрῆβωκ ωα πῆλλο ετογαав апа isaак.  
 νεϋῆ ρενнос δε νωне рнт ῒ πμοοϋ нтμннтε μπειερο ере πμοοϋ етῆ- 5  
 маϋ ωω εβολ еϋо ἡροτε. ἡτερῆει δε ернс анζων εροϋн епма ἡωωπε  
 ηπῆλλο παρα ογκοϋι. аγтсаβε еιατῆ εβολ ρитῆ πεпп(εϋн)а, аϋει εβολ  
 аϋааζераτῆ ριχῆ песпотоϋ μπειερο. πρωμε δε не οϋῖнхаpис пе еаϋ-  
 аiai ῒ неϋροοϋ. нтерῆмооне δε епекро аϋр ωорῆ аϋмоϋте епаран  
 хе калωс акеи ωарон, пасон паппоϋте, пai ἡтаϋῖ πпπωа наспаζε 10  
 ἡнеτογαав. аϋω нтерῆаспаζε ммон аϋχитῆ εροϋн еπεϋма ἡωωπε ῒ  
 οϋραωе. аϋω пexаϋ nan хе ари тагапн нтетῆωληл хе нтетῆ ρенрωме  
 εϋογαав еатетῆει ωарои μпоοϋ. аϋῶ нтерῆωληл анζмоос, аϋeine ноϋ-  
 лаканн μμοοϋ аϋειῶ ἡненоϋрн[н]те.  
 11b 28. [ - - - ] πμοοϋ [ . . . . ] εϋχω μμοc хе айῖ πῆπω[а no]ϋнос ἡρмот 15  
 хе атетῆει ωар[ои] μпоοϋ, ῶ несннϋ ετογαав. мῆнсωс аϋκω ρарон  
 ноϋтраπεза аноϋωм аϋω анῖ μπωῖ ρмот анζмоос. анок δε айωахе  
 нῆмаϋ етве теϋсινῖρζωв аϋω аихоос наϋ хе παειωт, акааи тωноϋ ῒ  
 οϋλικια. аϋοϋωωῖ нῖи πῆλλο ετογαав пexаϋ nai ῒ οϋснн еснeῖ ἡраωе  
 хе кω nai εβολ, παειωт пасо(н) паппоϋте, анῖ οϋρωме неλαχισтон 20  
 ἡῖῖρнове. еπειλн аκхноϋ етасινρζωв, ῖнатамок енентаинаϋ ероοϋ  
 нῆ нентаисотмоϋ ἡтῆ παειωт ετογαав апа ρарон· και гар анок нтаи-  
 маонтеϋе ρаратῆ аϋω аисῆсωпῆ етрῆχω ер'ο'ι ннентаϋнаϋ ероοϋ нῆ  
 нентаϋωωπε ρатеϋρн. пexаϋ гар ἡῖи παειωт ετογαав апа ρарон [х]е 25  
 ῖнаχω ерок, паωнре, ннентаи[на]ϋ ероοϋ нῆ нентаисотмоϋ н[тоо]тῆ  
 12a нпмакарис апа ма{р}кеδони'ο'с | [πεп]σκοπος.  
 29. аϋχοос гар н[аи хе ет]ῆ еιο нархων еаихι архн нтн[нтп]λοϋсiос,  
 аiei ернс епагархн е[х]ῆ неиποлис. аивωк δε εροϋн еπειлак· аϋсабба-  
 тωн ωωпе айωине нса оϋна хе еинасϋнаге хе анῖ οϋορθoδoζoc· етве  
 хе неϋωῖωе еидолон мпма етῆмаϋ. аϋω пωωхῖ он ἡноρθoδoζoc 30  
 етῆρнтоϋ неμῆтаϋ парρнcia нмаϋ етве паωаи ἡнρῆωеωе еидоло(н).  
 айωине οὖн ἡтоотῆ ἡοϋρωме ἡхрисῖанос етве θε ἡсϋнаге. нт'ο'ϋ δε  
 пexаϋ nai хе ωнтωс, кϋρι пархων, сeхнϋ ἡсonῆ нῖи на ῖποлис нтоот-  
 оϋ ἡнρῆωῖωе еидолон· και гар еωаϋеи еρραι ωарон нῖи ρенκληpикoc  
 ἡтποлис соϋан нсeсϋнаге ммон ῒи псаббатων нῆ ткϋριακн. 35

13 εϋαаав ms., еϋ[οϋ]аав Budge 14 ανεiῶ ms. || ἡненоϋρεте Budge 16 read ρарон  
 21 ῖнатаμοи ms.

27. When I heard such eulogies of this man, I begged my father Pseleusius, saying, 'Take me to him as well, in order that I may become worthy of his blessing!' Thus we prayed in his dwelling and went out. We went on board a small boat and sailed southwards to visit the holy old man Apa Isaac. There were large rocks rising from the water in the middle of the river, and the water there roared out in a terrifying way. When we had gone south, we almost reached the dwelling of the old man. He had already been informed by the Spirit, came out and stood on the bank of the river. He was a graceful man, advanced in years. When we landed on the bank, he first called out my name, (saying), 'Wonderful that you have come to us, my brother Paphnutius, (you) who have become worthy to salute the saints!' And when he had greeted us, he joyfully took us into his dwelling and said to us, 'Please, pray, for you who have come to us today are holy men'. And after we had prayed, we sat down. He brought a basin of water and washed our feet.

28. [...] the water [...] saying, 'I have become worthy of a great grace that you have come to me today, holy brothers'. Afterwards he laid a table for us and we ate. And we said grace and sat down. I talked with him about his practice and said to him, 'My father, you are greatly advanced in age'. The holy old man answered and said to me in a voice full of joy, 'Forgive me, my father, brother Paphnutius, I am a most humble and sinful man. Since you have asked me about my practice, I shall tell you about the things that I have seen and heard from my holy father Aaron. For I was his disciple and begged him to tell me about the things that he had seen and had happened before his time. So indeed my holy father Apa Aaron said, "I shall tell you, my son, about the things that I have seen and heard from the blessed Bishop Apa Macedonius.

### The Story of Bishop Macedonius

29. For he said to me, 'While I was still a magistrate and had started to obtain wealth, I went south, because I was pagarch over these cities. I entered Philae and because it was Saturday—as I am an orthodox man—I looked for a place to celebrate the Eucharist, since they worshipped idols there. Now the remainder of the orthodox among them did not enjoy freedom of speech because of the great number of idol worshippers. Therefore I asked a Christian how the Eucharist was celebrated. He said to me, "Truly, lord magistrate, the inhabitants of this city are oppressed by the idol worshippers and, indeed, clergymen from the city of Aswan have to come to us to administer Communion on Saturday and Sunday".

30. ἀΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑ ΝΕΙΩΔΑΧΕ Ζῆ ΠΑΡΗΤ ΛΥΩ ἸΤΕΡΕΙ-  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΤΠΟΛ[ΙC] ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΡΑΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ ΜΠΕCΤ[ΡΑΤ]ῆΛΑΤΗC, ΔΙΩΠΝΕ ΝCΑ  
 12b ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑ[ΝΑCΙΟC] ΠΑΡΧΗΠΕCΚΟΠΟC ΝΡΑΚΟΤ[Ε], | [ΔΙ]ῶ ΕΡΟQ ΝΘΕ ΤΗΡC  
 ἸΤΑΙΝΑ[Υ ΕΡΟC]. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΝCΙ ΠCΟΦΟC ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΔΒ] ΛΥΩ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC  
 ΝΑΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ[Ἰ] ΡῶΩΕΜΩΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ Ζῆ ΠΜΑ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ; ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑQ 5  
 ΧΕ CΕ, ΠΑ[ΕΙ]ΩΤ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΡΙCΤΑΝΟ[C] ΠΕΝΤΑQΧΟΟC ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ  
 ΩΑΡΕ ΝΕΚΡΙΡΙΚΟC ΝΤΠΟΛΙC CΟΥΑΝ ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝCΕCΥΝΑΓΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΜΠCΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ  
 Μ(Ἰ) ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ. ΤΕΝΟΥ CΕ ΠΑΧ(ΟΕΙ)C ΝΕΙΩΤ, ΑΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΑ ΕQΗΠΩΔ ΝΔΙΑΚΟ-  
 ΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΩΩΒ ΝΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΓΧΕΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ἸΠΕCΚΟΠΟC, ἸΤΑΧΙΤῆ ΕΡΗC  
 ΝἸΜΑΙ. ΠΑΡΧΗΠΕCΚΟΠΟC ΔΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑQΟΥΩΩῆ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ 10  
 ΑΚΩΠΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΩΩΒ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠCΑΒΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΚ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠῆἸΖΗΤ  
 ΕQΤῆΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΚ; ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΩΩC ΕΧἸ ΝCΕCΟΥ ΕΤΖῆ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΑΥ.  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ [Ε]ΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΝΤῆΠΩΔ ΑΝ ΕΖΩΒ  
 13a Ἰ[Τ]ῆΠΝΕ. ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΠΘΕ ΜΜ[ΟΙ] | ΖΝ ΝΕQΩΔΑΧΕ ΕΤΖΟΛ[C ΑQΧΕΙΡΟΔΟ]ΝΕΙ  
 ΜΜΟΙ. 15
31. ἸΤΕΡΕΙΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΡΗ[C ΔΙ]CΩΡ ΜΠΕΤῆ ΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΝΕΤΩ[ΔΑΤ], ΔΙΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ,  
 Ω ΠΑCΟΝ ΖΑΡΩΝ, Μ[ΠΕΙ]ΩΠΑΡΖΗCΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΖΩC ΕΠΙCΚ[ΟΠΟC] ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΙ-  
 ΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΩC ΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC [ΖΝ] ΤΕΥΜΗΗΤΕ. ΑΙΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ [ΕΥ]ΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΕΡΠΗΥΕ ΕΥΩῆΩ[Ε Ν]ΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΠΒ[ΗC] ΝΖΟΥΝ ΖἸ ΖΕΝ-  
 ΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ. ΑCΩ[Ω]ΠΕ ΔΕ ΜἸΝCΑ ΖΕΝΖΟΥQ ΕΙΝΖΟΥΝ [ΖΑΖ]ΤΗΥ, ΑΠΟΥΗΝΒ 20  
 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΑQΒΩΚ ΝΟΥΑΠΟΚΡΙCΙC. ΠΕQΩΠΡΕ Δ[Ε] CΝΑΥ ΝΕΥΠΡΟC-  
 ΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΕQΝΑΡ ΘΥCΙΑ ΜΠΕΙΔΟΛΟΝ. ΑΝΟΚ [ΔΕ] ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΟC  
 ΑΙΒΩΚ ΩΑΡΟΟΥ ΑΙΩΔΑΧΕ ΝἸΜΑΥ ΖἸ ΟΥΚΡΟQ ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟ[C] ΧΕ ΤΟΥΩΩΕΤΑΛΕ  
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 ΕΝΩΕ Ω[ΑΝ]ΤΟΥῆ ΧῶῆC. | [ΠΕΝΕΙΩ]Τ ΝΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΑ[ΚΕΔ.]ΟΝΙΟC ΑQΤ  
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32. [ΝΩΠ]ΡΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΗΝΒ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΥ [ΕΠΕΝ]ΤΑQΩΩΠΕ ΑΥΠΩΖ ἸΝΕΥ-  
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 ΕΥ[ΩΔ]ΝCΩΤῆ ἸCΙ ΝΑ ΤΠΟΛΙC CΕΝΑΖΙ Ω[Ν]Ε ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΩΑΝΤΟΥ-  
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 [C]Ε ΠΑCΟΝ, ΜΑΡἸΤΩΟΥΝ ἸΤῆΠΩΤ [Ν]ΑΝ ΕΥΜΑ ΝΧΔΙΕ· ΖΑΡΗΥ ΤἸΝΑΡ Β'Ο'Λ.

3 ΤΗΡῆ ms. 7 read ΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΚΟC



30. I, Macedonius, kept these words in my heart. And when I went to the city of Alexandria to pay my respects to the military commander, I sought out Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria and told him everything that I had seen. The wise and holy man and true patriarch said to me, "Are there worshippers of God in that place?" I said to him, "Yes, my father, for a Christian told me, 'The clergymen from the city of Aswan have to come to us to administer Communion on Saturday and Sunday'. Well then, my lord and father, look for someone who is worthy to attend to this urgent task and ordain him bishop so that I may take him south with me". The holy archbishop answered and said to me, "Since you have pursued the good thing, who is wiser than you or who equals you in understanding? You will be the shepherd over the sheep in that place". I said to him, "Forgive me, my holy father, I am unworthy of such a task". But he persuaded me with his sweet words and ordained me.

### **Macedonius and the Sacred Falcon of Philae**

31. When I went south, I distributed the excess of my possessions to the poor and came to this place. My brother Aaron, I was unable to act freely as a bishop but I walked as the most insignificant person in their midst. I saw them going into the temple to worship a bird which they called the falcon, inside a demonic cage. After I had spent some days among them, it happened that the priest left the city and went out on some business. His two sons attended, in case someone should offer a sacrifice to the idol. I, Macedonius, went up to them and said deceptively, "I wish to offer a sacrifice to God today". They said, "Come and offer it". After he had gone inside, he ordered them to lay the wood upon the altar and light the fire beneath it. The two sons of the priest attended to the wood until it became charred. Our father and bishop, Apa Macedonius, made his way to the place where the demonic cage was. He took out the falcon, cut off its head, threw it upon the burning altar, left the temple and went away.

32. When the sons of the priest saw what had happened, they tore their clothes. And the older said to the younger, "What shall we do? We are cornered on all sides. When the citizens find out, they will stone us, for we have been negligent so that their god was burnt. And yet, even if we can keep out of their hands, we shall not escape our father, for he loves the falcon god more than us. Now then, my brother, let us move and flee to a deserted place. Perhaps we shall save our skin".

33. [α]ῡω ται τε θε νταγει εβολ ς̃η̃ τπο[λ]ις̃ мпеснаγ̃ мπεροογ̃ ет̃η̃маγ̃  
 мπελαаγ̃ еιμε· εβολ̃ х̃ε̃ нере̃ πноу[т]̃ е̃ скеπαζε̃ ммооу̃ ет̃βε̃ х̃ε̃ неу[т]̃η̃ω  
 14a εγοικονομια̃ е̃на̃ноу̃с̃. аγ[χι]οор̃ де̃ ммооу̃ а̃γει̃ е̃πει̃ев̃т̃ аγ[та]̃ а̃γ̃ ε̃ρο̃у̃н̃  
 5 е̃п̃т̃о̃'о̃'γ̃ е̃т̃ρ̃ι̃зо̃у̃н̃ | е̃γ̃х̃ω̃ м̃мос̃ х̃ε̃ на̃ноу̃с̃ на̃н̃ е̃[т̃р̃η̃]̃моу̃̃ η̃те̃ не̃θ̃η̃ρι̃он̃  
 о̃γ̃ω̃м̃ η̃не̃н̃с̃а̃[ρ̃з̃]̃ η̃ρο̃ο̃ ε̃ро̃с̃ е̃т̃ре̃γ̃з̃и̃ ω̃не̃ е̃ро̃н̃ з̃и̃т̃[η̃]̃ на̃ т̃πο̃λι̃с̃.
34. ас̃ω̃ω̃πε̃ де̃ н̃тере̃ पे̃γει̃ω̃т̃ ει̃ η̃β̃ω̃κ̃ ε̃ρο̃у̃н̃ е̃п̃ρ̃πε̃ е̃т̃ρ̃ῶ̃ο̃γ̃ω̃т̃̃  
 м̃πει̃δ̃ω̃лон̃ η̃ω̃ρο̃π̃ι̃̃ ка̃та̃ पे̃че̃ε̃θ̃ос̃ м̃πα̃τε̃φ̃ω̃κ̃ е̃πε̃q̃η̃ι̃' н̃те̃ρ̃ῶ̃ω̃κ̃ де̃  
 ε̃ρο̃у̃н̃, м̃πε̃q̃зе̃ е̃не̃q̃ω̃η̃ре̃. а̃q̃†̃ पे̃q̃ο̃γ̃ο̃ι̃ е̃п̃ма̃ е̃т̃ρ̃ι̃зо̃у̃(н̃)̃ м̃πε̃q̃зе̃ е̃ро̃ο̃γ̃.  
 а̃q̃κ̃ω̃те̃ о̃н̃ ς̃η̃̃ π̃μα̃г̃κα̃но̃н̃ е̃тере̃ п̃β̃η̃с̃ η̃з̃η̃т̃ῶ̃ м̃πε̃q̃зе̃ е̃ро̃q̃. а̃q̃ει̃ де̃ ε̃во̃л̃  
 е̃q̃а̃πο̃ρει̃ е̃q̃х̃[ω̃]̃ м̃мос̃ х̃ε̃ о̃γ̃ п̃ε̃н̃та̃q̃ω̃ω̃πε̃ ε̃во̃л̃ х̃ε̃ м̃πει̃зе̃ е̃на̃ω̃η̃ре̃ 10  
 о̃γ̃де̃ п̃κε̃но̃у̃т̃е̃ п̃β̃η̃с̃;
35. ас̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ е̃ро̃q̃ η̃β̃и̃ о̃γ̃ρ̃λ̃λο̃у̃ н̃с̃з̃и̃ме̃ ε̃со̃γ̃η̃н̃з̃ з̃и̃т̃ο̃у̃ω̃q̃ м̃п̃ρ̃πε̃.  
 ас̃мо̃у̃т̃е̃ о̃γ̃β̃η̃q̃ ε̃с̃х̃ω̃ м̃мос̃ х̃ε̃ а̃мо̃у̃ ω̃а̃ρο̃ι̃, πο̃γ̃η̃н̃β̃ е̃т̃с̃ма̃ма̃а̃т̃, н̃та̃-  
 та̃мо̃к̃ е̃п̃ε̃н̃та̃и̃на̃γ̃ е̃ро̃q̃ м̃по̃ο̃γ̃. а̃и̃на̃γ̃ га̃ρ̃ е̃п̃е̃и̃πα̃ρα̃βα̃т̃η̃с̃ м̃мо̃но̃χο̃с̃,  
 πα̃и̃ е̃т̃π̃ла̃на̃ η̃з̃ο̃и̃не̃ ς̃η̃̃ на̃ те̃[ι̃]̃πο̃ли̃с̃, а̃q̃β̃ω̃κ̃ ε̃ρο̃у̃н̃ е̃п̃ρ̃πε̃ м̃η̃ не̃κ̃ω̃η̃ре̃. 15  
 {ο̃γ̃}̃ πα̃н̃т̃ω̃с̃ η̃т̃ο̃q̃ п̃ε̃н̃[та̃q̃]̃та̃ке̃ पे̃γ̃з̃η̃т̃'̃ а̃γ̃q̃и̃ π̃но̃у̃т̃е̃ [п̃β̃η̃с̃]̃ а̃γ̃п̃ω̃т̃.  
 14b πο̃γ̃η̃н̃β̃ де̃ | [н̃т̃]̃ε̃ρ̃q̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ е̃не̃и̃ω̃а̃хе̃ η̃т̃ο̃ο̃т̃ῶ̃ [н̃]̃ε̃л̃ло̃у̃ а̃q̃мо̃ο̃ω̃ре̃ е̃q̃†̃  
 о̃γ̃ο̃ι̃ ς̃η̃̃ т̃[п̃]̃ο̃ли̃с̃ н̃с̃а̃ не̃q̃ω̃η̃ре̃ х̃ε̃ о̃γ̃ мо̃но̃н̃ [н̃]̃а̃ω̃η̃ре̃ †̃на̃з̃ο̃т̃во̃у̃ а̃л̃ла̃  
 п̃ке̃м̃'о̃'[н̃]̃ο̃χο̃с̃ е̃и̃ω̃а̃η̃зе̃ е̃ро̃q̃ †̃на̃πα̃та̃с̃с̃ε̃ м̃мо̃q̃.
36. о̃γ̃ρ̃ω̃ме̃ де̃ м̃п̃и̃с̃т̃ο̃с̃ н̃те̃ρ̃ῶ̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ е̃ро̃с̃ ε̃с̃ω̃а̃хе̃ м̃η̃ πο̃γ̃η̃н̃β̃ а̃q̃β̃ω̃κ̃ 20  
 ω̃а̃ п̃ε̃п̃и̃с̃ко̃πο̃с̃ е̃т̃ο̃у̃[а̃]̃а̃β̃' पे̃х̃а̃q̃ на̃q̃ х̃ε̃ па̃ει̃ω̃т̃ е̃т̃та̃и̃(η̃γ̃), [а̃и̃]̃с̃ε̃т̃η̃̃  
 о̃γ̃ω̃а̃хе̃ η̃т̃ο̃ο̃т̃ῶ̃ м̃πει̃ο̃у̃[н̃]̃η̃β̃ е̃т̃с̃ρ̃ρο̃у̃ρ̃т̃̃ н̃те̃ п̃ρ̃πε̃ е̃т̃β̃η̃н̃[т̃]̃ῶ̃ е̃q̃х̃ω̃  
 м̃мос̃ х̃ε̃ е̃и̃ω̃а̃η̃зе̃ е̃ро̃q̃ [†̃]̃на̃мо̃ο̃у̃т̃ῶ̃. те̃но̃у̃ с̃ε̃ па̃ει̃ω̃т̃ е̃т̃ο̃у̃а̃а̃β̃, т̃ω̃ο̃у̃н̃  
 η̃т̃β̃ω̃κ̃ на̃к̃ е̃γ̃ма̃ е̃q̃с̃β̃ρα̃з̃т̃̃ η̃з̃ε̃н̃з̃ο̃ο̃γ̃ ω̃а̃н̃те̃ п̃з̃ω̃β̃ о̃γ̃ε̃и̃не̃. पे̃х̃ε̃ पे̃п̃и̃-  
 ско̃п̃'о̃'с̃ м̃п̃ρ̃ω̃ме̃ е̃т̃η̃ма̃γ̃ х̃ε̃ о̃γ̃ па̃ω̃η̃ре̃ е̃т̃та̃и̃γ̃, а̃и̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ ς̃η̃̃ т̃та̃п̃ро̃ 25  
 е̃т̃с̃ма̃ма̃а̃т̃ м̃п̃ε̃н̃но̃у̃т̃е̃ п̃ε̃н̃с̃(ω̃т̃)̃η̃ρ̃ ι̃(η̃с̃ο̃у̃)̃с̃ पे̃х̃(ρ̃и̃с̃т̃ο̃)̃с̃, पे̃н̃х̃(ο̃ε̃ι̃)̃с̃,  
 е̃q̃х̃ω̃ м̃мос̃ х̃ε̃ м̃п̃ρ̃ρ̃ з̃ο̃те̃ з̃η̃т̃ο̃у̃ η̃не̃т̃на̃мо̃ο̃у̃т̃̃ м̃п̃ε̃т̃η̃с̃ω̃ма̃'̃ е̃η̃η̃ ω̃β̃ο̃н̃  
 де̃ м̃мо̃ο̃γ̃ [ε̃]̃мо̃ο̃у̃т̃̃ η̃не̃т̃η̃ψ̃γ̃η̃. पे̃х̃ε̃ [п̃]̃ρ̃ω̃ме̃ е̃т̃η̃ма̃γ̃ м̃п̃ε̃п̃и̃с̃ко̃πο̃[с̃  
 15a х̃]̃ε̃ а̃q̃х̃ο̃ο̃с̃ о̃н̃ х̃ε̃ е̃γ̃ω̃а̃η̃п̃ω̃т̃̃ {η̃}̃|[н̃]̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ ς̃η̃̃ †̃πο̃ли̃с̃, п̃ω̃т̃ ε̃з̃ραι̃  
 30 ε̃[κε̃]̃ο̃γ̃ε̃и̃е̃. पे̃х̃ε̃ पे̃п̃и̃с̃ко̃πο̃с̃ х̃ε̃ η̃и̃м̃ [п̃ε̃н̃]̃та̃q̃та̃мо̃q̃ х̃ε̃ а̃ι̃β̃ω̃κ̃ ε̃ρο̃у̃н̃  
 е̃п̃ρ̃πε̃; η̃т̃ο̃q̃ де̃ पे̃х̃а̃q̃ на̃q̃ х̃ε̃ а̃и̃с̃ω̃т̃η̃̃ х̃ε̃ о̃γ̃ρ̃λ̃λο̃у̃ η̃с̃з̃и̃ме̃ те̃ ε̃со̃γ̃η̃н̃з̃  
 з̃и̃т̃ο̃у̃ω̃q̃ м̃п̃ρ̃πε̃. पे̃х̃ε̃ पे̃п̃и̃с̃ко̃πο̃с̃ ς̃η̃̃ о̃γ̃ω̃ω̃т̃ ε̃во̃л̃ х̃ε̃ е̃ре̃ पे̃с̃ла̃с̃  
 на̃ω̃ω̃πε̃ м̃п̃ε̃п̃и̃πε̃ η̃β̃ω̃ е̃q̃κ̃и̃м̃ а̃н̃ ω̃а̃ е̃не̃з̃, ω̃а̃н̃те̃ т̃д̃ω̃ρε̃а̃ м̃п̃но̃у̃т̃е̃  
 о̃γ̃ω̃η̃з̃̃ ε̃во̃л̃. а̃γ̃ῶ̃ ас̃ω̃ω̃πε̃ ка̃та̃ पे̃q̃ω̃а̃хе̃ н̃ο̃ε̃ н̃та̃ п̃ε̃т̃ро̃с̃ па̃πο̃с̃т̃ο̃λο̃с̃  
 35 х̃ο̃ο̃с̃ η̃с̃и̃м̃ω̃н̃ х̃ε̃ е̃ке̃ω̃ω̃πε̃ е̃к̃ο̃ η̃β̃л̃ле̃ η̃γ̃на̃γ̃ ε̃во̃л̃ а̃н̃ е̃п̃ρ̃η̃ ω̃а̃ о̃γ̃ο̃ε̃и̃ω̃.  
 н̃те̃ρ̃ῶ̃(х̃ε̃)̃ на̃и̃ η̃β̃и̃ पे̃п̃и̃с̃ко̃πο̃с̃ е̃т̃ο̃у̃а̃а̃β̃, а̃п̃ρ̃ω̃ме̃ а̃на̃х̃ω̃ре̃и̃ на̃q̃ ε̃во̃л̃  
 з̃и̃т̃ο̃ο̃т̃ῶ̃.

5 е̃ро̃н̃ corr. < е̃ро̃ο̃γ̃ 12 м̃п̃ρ̃πε̃: second π corr. < ρ 20 е̃q̃ω̃а̃хе̃ ms. 22 read е̃т̃-  
 с̃ρ̃ο̃γ̃ο̃ρ̃т̃ 25 о̃γ̃: read ω̃ 28 read η̃не̃т̃η̃ψ̃γ̃η̃

33. Thus they both left the city that day. And nobody noticed them, for God protected them because they were destined to a good dispensation. They were ferried across, arrived on the east bank and made their way to the inner desert, saying, "It will be better for us that we die and the wild beasts eat our flesh than that the citizens stone us".

34. It happened that when their father came back and went into the temple to worship the idol first before he went to his house, as was his custom—when he went inside he did not find his sons. He made his way to the innermost part but did not find them. Then he searched in the demonic cage in which the falcon lived, but he did not find him. He went out in confusion and said, "What has happened that I did not find my sons nor even the falcon god?"

35. An old woman who lived beside the temple overheard the priest. She called him and said, "Come to me, blessed priest, and I shall tell you what I have seen today. For I saw this criminal monk, who is leading some citizens astray, going into the temple with your sons. Undoubtedly, he corrupted their minds. They took the falcon god and fled". When the priest heard these words from the old woman, he made his way to the city and went after his sons, saying, "Not only shall I kill my sons, but that monk too—if I find him, I shall beat him to death".

36. Now a believer, after he had heard her speak with the priest, went to the holy bishop and said to him, "My honourable father, I heard a word from this accursed priest of the temple about you, who said: 'If I find him, I shall kill him'. Well then, my holy father, rise and go away to a quiet place for some days until the affair has blown over". The bishop said to this man, "My honourable son, I have heard from the blessed mouth of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, our Lord, who said: 'Do not fear those who will kill your body but cannot kill your souls' (Matt. 10:28)". This man said to the bishop, "He also said: 'When they chase you from this city, flee to another one' (Matt. 10:23)". The bishop said, "Who informed him that I went into the temple?". He said to him, "I heard that it was an old woman, who lives beside the temple". The bishop said sharply, "May her tongue become like iron and remain immobile forever until the gift of God is revealed!" And it happened according to his word, just as the Apostle Peter said to Simon: "May you become blind and unable to see the sun for some time" (Acts 13:11). When the holy bishop had said these things, the man left him.

37. ππετογααβ αqтwoyn жωωq αqβωκ εzhт epмa etoymoyte epoy  
 xε пa. αqωωπε жm пmа etmмаγ eqcoпcп mпnoyтe жn жeнннcтa mнн  
 жeнoγωн нpoεic eнaωωoγ eqxω mн[oc] xε пx(oεi)c пnoyтe, ктo  
 15b mпжнт mп[ei]pωme eγметaнoиa. жn тeиoγωн e[тmм]αγ αqнaγ eγжopoma 5  
 eωx[ε epε oγp]ωme αжepaтq epε ωнp[ε] | [cнa]γ жтoγωq eγaaжepaт-  
 oγ, oγa [жт] oγнaм нmoq αγω oγa жт жboγp нmoq eγнкoтk̄. αqei нoи  
 oγpωme нoγoeиn αqaaжepaтq жтxωoγ αqт нoγκλoм eжн тaпe мпeтжт  
 oγнaм нmoq, ete пnoб пe, αγω κεκλoм eжн тaпe мпeтжт жboγp нmoq.  
 αγω αqт нoγβepωβ etεиx мпeтжт oγнaм epε oγωoγт мнp нmoq αγω  
 κεβepωβ etεиx мпeтжт жboγp нmoq epε κεωoγт мнp нmoq. αqβωκ eжpai 10  
 etпe (eγ)eiopm нcωq.

38. αqтwoyn Δe εжтooγe нoи пeπicкoпoc etoγaαβ aпa μακελωmиoc  
 eqxω нmoс xε oγ пe пeижopoma нтaиnαγ epoy; мн eγнaжпo нaи нжeн-  
 ωнpe мннca тpaαпoтacce epε пжωβ ocк; плнн пekoγωω мapqωωпe,  
 пaж(oεi)c i(нcoγ)c пexp(ictο)c. etи Δe epε пeπicкoпoc мoкмeк нmoq 15  
 нтeижe, αγcmн ωωпe ωa[po]q ecxω нmoс xε ωa тнaγ eкa[м]eлeи eн-  
 ecooγ нтaγтaнжoγтk̄ [ε]pooγ; тwoyn нгт пekoγoi e[п]ooγ кнaжe жeн-  
 16a cкeγoc нcω[тп жm] | [п]нa etmмаγ.

39. αqтwoyn αq[moо]ωe кaтa θe нтaγxooс нaq αγ[ω н]тepqoye  
 εжoyn жт птooγ нa [ωo]мнт мннλиoн, αqβωωт нca [oγ]нaм нmoq αqжe 20  
 eпωнpe cнaγ [ε]γннx жa oγкooж нтooγ eαγ[κ]a тooγ eβoλ eпmoγ etβe  
 пeжкo нн пeиβe eβoλ xε пeγcooγ пe нпoγ(oγ)em oεиk oγΔe мпoγce  
 mooγ. нтepε пeπicкoпoc нaγ epooγ αqп пмeeγe мпжopoma нтaγнaγ  
 epoy αγω пexαq xε нaи ne пωнpe cнaγ нтaγтcαboи epooγ жm пжopoma  
 αγω нaи oн нeнтaγxooс нaи etβнннтoγ xε βoк, кнaβиnε нжeнcкeγωc 25  
 нcωтп.

40. αиmoωe Δe εжoyn epooγ, пexαq, αγω нтepoγнaγ epoi αγтoк  
 нжнт αγтωoγ(н) αγпaжтoγ жa нaoγpннтe αγт пи eжωoγ. αнoк Δe  
 жωωт aт тooтoγ αтoγнocoy. нтepиnαγ Δe epooγ eγcoωm жa пeжкo мн 30  
 пeиβe, αиmooc eжpai мннaγ. пnoб Δe etmма[γ] αqxωpм oγβe пкoγи |  
 [xε] ωaжe. пкoγи Δe жωωq αqж[ωp]м oγβe пnoб xε ωaжe нтoк.  
 [αq]oγωωβ нoи пnoб xε ωнтωc п[a]eиωт, αиp θe eωxε нтaиoγωн  
 a[icω] нтepειnαγ epoк. кaи γap жин пeж[ooγ] нтaнeи eβoλ жm тпoλиc  
 мпeнoγωн oγΔe мпeнcω oγΔe мпeннaγ epωme нcαβλλaк. пeнcooγ γap  
 пe пooγ. αcωωпe γap нmo[н] жm тeиoγωн нтacoγeиnε. αнoк Δe нeиωβω 35  
 αн пe αλλa нepε нaβaλ oγωн. αqei нoи oγpωme нoγoeиn epε oγxωωme

2 read мн 4 нпpωme Budge 21 нтooγ: нтoo Budge || eαγ[.]тooγ Budge, read  
 eαγ[κ]a тooтoγ 25 -xooс нaи: -xooс нa Budge

### Macedonius and His Disciples Mark and Isaiah

37. The holy man rose and went north to the place called the Valley. He remained in that place, entreating God through fasting and many nightly vigils, saying, "Lord God, move the heart of that man towards repentance". In that very night he saw a vision, as if a man were standing with two sons next to him, one standing on his right hand side, the other one on his left hand side, as they were asleep. A man of light came and stood over them. He placed a crown on the head of the one to his right, who was the elder, and another crown on the head of the one to his left. He placed a staff in the hand of the one to the right with a key attached to it and another staff in the hand of the one to his left, also with a key attached to it. And he ascended to heaven while they gazed after him.

38. In the morning, the holy bishop Apa Macedonius rose and said, "What is this vision that I have seen? Surely no sons will be born to me after already having renounced marriage long ago? Yet your will be done, my Lord Jesus Christ". While the bishop was still reflecting in this manner, a voice came to him, saying, "How long will you neglect the sheep that have been entrusted to you? Rise and go to them, and you will find chosen vessels in that place".

39. He rose and walked as he had been told. When he had travelled into the desert for about three miles, he looked to his right and found the two boys lying below a hilltop, on the brink of death from hunger and thirst, since they had not eaten bread or drunk water in six days. When the bishop saw them, he remembered the vision that he had seen and said, "These are the two boys about whom I learned in the vision and they too are the ones about whom I was told: 'Go and you will find chosen vessels'!".

40. "I walked towards them," so he said, "and when they saw me their spirits lifted. They rose, fell down at my feet and kissed them. I helped them to their feet, but when I saw how weak they were from hunger and thirst, I sat down with them. That elder one signalled the younger one to speak. But the younger one signalled the elder one that he should say something. The elder one replied, 'Truly, my father, when I saw you it was to me as if I had eaten and drunk, for since the day that we left the city we have neither eaten nor drunk nor seen anybody except you, and today is our sixth day! For it happened to us in the night that passed—I was not asleep, but my eyes were open—that a man of light arrived with a four volume book in his hand and very precious clothes on his shoulders. He stood over me and touched me.

- ΝΤΟΟΤῆ εφεῖρε ἡφτοοῦ ἀγῶ οὐν ῥενῥῆσῶ εὔταινῃ εμαατε ταλνῃ ἐχῆ  
 τεφναῤῥῆ, ἀφααῤερατῆ ῥιχῶι ἀκίμ εροι. ντερειτῶοῦν Δε εῤραι ἀφ  
 ῥιῶῶτ νοῡῶτῃν ἀφῶλῆτ νοῡεῡῶμῖς. ντερειῤ οὔαπρητε Δε εςῥιῶῶτ  
 ἀφοῡῶῶτ ἡμῶς ἀφταας ῥι πακοῡι νσον ἀγῶ ἀφῶοῶλῆ ῥῶῶῡ νοῡεῡῶ-  
 μῖς. ντερῆρ οὔαπρητε Δε ῥιῶῶῡ ἀφοῡῶῶῡ ἡμῶς ἀφταας ῥιῶῶτ νκεσῶπ 5  
 17a νταῤε. ἀῖῶῶῡ ἡσα οὔναμ ἡἡ[οῖ ἀγῶ] | ἀῖναῡ εροκ, παῖῶτ ετοῡααβ.  
 [αῡ]ῡῖτ ῥῆ νεφῖαχ νοῡοῖν ἡῖ πῤῶμε νοῡοῖν ετῆῖναῡ ἀφῶοῡῡ εῤραι  
 ἐκοῡῶῡῡ ἡῖνσῶς ἀφῖ ἡπασον ἀφῶοῡῡ εῤραι ἐκοῡῶῡῡ ἀγῶ ἡτεῡνοῡ  
 ἀφῤ ἀτοῡῶῡῡ ἐβῶλ ἀῖο εῖναῡ εροῡ. τενοῡ ῶε παῖῶτ, εῖς ῥῖντε ἀῖῤ  
 πῖπῶα ετρεκει ῶαρον· εῖς νενῡῡχῖ ἡτοοτῆ ἡῖ πενσῶμα· καὶ γαρ 10  
 ἡτανῖῶτ ῤῶ ἐβῶλ ῥῆ τῖοῖς ντεκαφῶρῖν ἀ[ν]εῖ εῖεῖμα.  
 41. ἀσῶῶπε Δε ἡτερε πεῖσκοπος σῶτῆ εῖεῖῶαῤε ἀφῤ πῖεῖε  
 ἡπεντα παποστολῶς ῡοῡῡ ῤε ντε νεν(εῡῖ)α ἡνεπροφῖτῖς εῖ ἐχῶτῆ.  
 πεῤαῡ ἡαῡ ῤε τῶοῡν ἡαρον, ἡαῡῖρε, ῤε ται τε ῶε ἡτα πῖοῡτε  
 τοῡῡ ετῤῖοῡῡ ἡῖ νενερῖῡ. ἀγῶοῡν ἀγῖ ἐβῶλ ῥι πτοοῡ ῥι οὔσῶπ 15  
 ἀῡῶκ εῤοῡ(ν) εῖῖα ετεφῶῡῖνῡ ῡῤῡῡ ἡῖ πῖετοῡααβ πεῖσκοπος ἀγῶ  
 ἀγῶῡῡ ἡῖ νεῡερῖῡ ἡῖῶῡῡ.  
 17b 42. [ἀῡῡῶ] ἡμῶς ἡῖ πεῖσκοπος | [ῤε] ῡῖναῡῶῡ ἡῖῖαῡ ἀν ἐβῶλ ῤε  
 ἡποῡῡῖ βαπῡσῖα. ἀγῶῡῡ(ῖ) Δε ἀῡῡῡῡ ἡῡῖῖα ἡῖῡῡ κατὰ ῶε εῡαῡ-  
 αας, ἀῡῡῖῡ ἐχῶῡῡ κατὰ ἡκανῶν ἀγῶ πεῤαῡ ἡαῡ ῤε ἡῖῖ νε νετῆραν; 20  
 πεῤαῡ ἡῖ πῖῶῡ ῤε νενραν ῥῶε νῶῖτοῡ ἐβῶλ ῤε ῖραν ἡῖῡῡτε νεν-  
 ταῡῖῡῡτε [ε]ῖρον ἡῖῡῡῡ· ἀγῶ ἀῡῡῡῡ εῖεῖς[κ]ῶπος. ντοῡ Δε πεῤαῡ  
 ῤε ἡνεσῶῡπε ετρεῡῖῡῡτε εῖῶτῆ ἡῖῖ[ῤ]αν ῡῖν τενοῡ. ἀγῶ ἀῡῖῡῡτε  
 εῖῖῶῡ ἀῡβαπῡῤε ἡῖῡῡ, ἀῡῖῡῡτε εροῡ ῤε ἡαῤκος ἀγῶ πῖεῤσῖαῡ ῤε ῖα-  
 ἡας. ντερῖῖβαπῡῤε ἡῖῡῡ ἀῡῡῖαῡε ἡῖῡῡ. ἡῖνσῶς ἀῡῡῡ ῥαῤῶῡ ἡῖῡ- 25  
 τραῖα ετρεῡ(ῡῡ)ῶῡ.  
 43. ἀσῶῶπε Δε ἡῖῖσα ῥενῥοοῡ εῡῤαῤῡῡ εῡῡ ἡῤῡῡ ετεφῖῖῡῡῡ  
 ἡῖ τεφῖῖῡῡῡ ἡῖ τεφκατασῖς· ἐβῶλ ῤε νεῡσοοῡν ἀν ῡῡῖῡ ἡα-  
 ῖῖῡ ῤε ἀῡ(ῡῡ)ῡῡ ἡῖ πῖετοῡααβ. πεῤε ἡαῤκος ῤε παῖῶῡ | [ε]ῡῡααβ, 30  
 18a τῖῖῡῡ ετῤῖῡῡ ἡῖῡῡ ἡῖῖαπε ῤεκας εῖεῖῡῡε ῥαῤῡῡ. ἀγῶ  
 ἀῡῡῡῡ ντεῡαπε ἀγῶ νεῡσῶτῆ νσῶῡ ῥῆ ῥῶῡ ἡῖῖ. ἀσῶῶπε Δε ἡῖῖσα  
 ῥενῥοοῡ ἀφῤ πῖεῖε ἡῖῥῶῡ ἡῖαῡῡ εροῡ ἡῖ πεῖσκοπος ετοῡααβ  
 ετῖε ῖῡῖρε σῖαῡ ἀγῶ πεῤαῡ ῤε ἡαῖε παῖ πε ῖῡῖρε σῖαῡ ἡῖῖαῡ  
 εροοῡ, ῖῡῡα ῥι οὔναμ ἀγῶ ῖῡῡα ῥι ῥῖῡῤ ἡῖῡ. ἀῡῖαῡῡτε ἡῖῖαῡ  
 ἡῖῡῖῡ ἀῡαῡ ἡῖῤεσῖῡτερος ἀγῶ ἡαῖας πεῡςῡῡ(ῖ) ἀῡαῡ ἡῖῖαῡ. 35

3 read οὔαπρητε 4 read ἀφῶῡῡῡ 5 read ἀφῶῡῡῡ 34 ῥῖῡῤ: ὡῡ corr. < ὡῡ

When I got up, he dressed me in a tunic and covered me with a stole. When I had worn it for a while, he took it off me, dressed my younger brother in it and also covered him with a stole. When he had worn it for a while, he took it off him and dressed me again in it as before. I looked to my right and saw you, my holy father. That man of light took me in his hands of light and laid me down in your lap. Then he took my brother and laid him down in your lap. And right away he became invisible and I stopped seeing him. Now then, my father, that we have become worthy that you come to us, we belong to you, body and soul, for precisely because of you we fled from the city and came to this place’”.

41. It happened that when the bishop heard these words he remembered what the Apostle said: “And the spirits of the prophets will come upon you” (cf. 1 Cor. 14:32). He said to them, “Rise and let us go, my sons, for thus God has determined that we shall live together”. They rose and went out of the desert together. They entered the place where the holy bishop stayed and the three of them lived together.

42. The bishop said, “I cannot eat with them because they have not been baptized”. He rose and filled a vessel with water, as he was in the habit of doing. He prayed over them according to the canons and said to them, “What are your names?”. The elder said, “Our names are hard for you to utter, for we are called by the names of gods”, and they told them to the bishop. He said, “You shall not be called by these names from now on”. And he gave a name to the elder one and baptized him. He called him Mark and the second one (he called) Isaiah. After he had baptized them, he administered them Communion. Then he laid a table for them so that they could eat.

43. And it happened after they had stayed with him for some days that they observed his manner of prayer, way of life and observance, for they did not know how to pray except from living with the holy man. Mark said, “My holy father, we want you to shave the hair off our heads in order that we may worship under your guidance”. And he shaved their heads and they obeyed him in everything. And after a few days it happened that the holy bishop remembered the vision that he had seen about the two boys and said, “Truly these are the two boys that I have seen, the one to the right, the other to the left of me”. He took Mark first and made him priest and Isaiah, his brother, he made deacon.

44. ἀσφωπε δε νтере πεπισκοπος ρμοος ρῆ περμα ῆφωπε εφωφ  
 ῆνεγαγγελιον ετογαав' μαρκος ρωφ νεφρμοος ραρτῆ про' аγει ῆσι  
 ρενανογβα аγсоиле епма етῆмаγ мῆ νεγδαмоγλ. апетχοор ῆρнтоγ  
 рерт петсоов епеснт афωфбῆ нтефωρннте. нтерωйнаγ нси наноγβα  
 епентафωфпе аγμωе мῆ [н]егернγ. пх(ое)с де мпента тефωρннте 5  
 18b оγф[бῆ] | [а]φχω ммос мпкеоγа де еи[а]φι мпекδαмоγλ епма мпωι,  
 а[γ]ω нере оγноб нт-тωн ρῆ τεγῆннте мпеснаγ. μαρκος де πεпр(εсвγ-  
 теро)с нтерῆнаγ ерооγ еγμωе мῆ неγернγ афвωк еρра афтаме пепи-  
 скопос. неақкаас ρῆ пефρнт етῆвωк епеснт φарооγ' нтерῆеи еөн еχῆ  
 тлезис етснρ де наиаτογ ῆῆрῆреирннн де нтооγ нетоγнамоγте ерооγ 10  
 де ῆφнре мпноγте' нтеγноγ афмоγρ мпχωфме аφеи епеснт φарооγ.  
 45. нтерωйнаγ де ероф, апетχнγ ῆρонс пωт ερωγн ероф аγω пехα'φ'  
 де амоγ нῆρмоос, павейт, нῆсетῆ пенρап. аγω афρмоос нси пеписко-  
 пос. пехαφ наф нси паноγβα де аимоγρ мпααмоγλ, пафвнр де нтоф  
 мпечмоγρ мпωф. аφеи нси печδαмоγλ афрерт пωι епкаρ афωфбῆ 15  
 ῆтефωρннте. нтере пай де оγω ефφαхе, апкеоγ[а оγωфв] еφχω  
 19a мῆρс хе [паααмоγλ] | ῆен аиморῆ ερωγн аλλα нтаφρ вол мпείеиμε.  
 46. πεπισκοπος де нῆρмоос ефкω нрωф φантоγχω ннеγφαхе  
 тнроγ. пехе ппетоγαав непископос наγ де мῆ лааγ нρωв нт-тωн  
 ρῆ тетῆмннте ραөн мпооγ еимнте пρωв мпααмоγλ ммаате; пехе 20  
 поγа ῆρнтоγ де тнахе тме ерок, павейт ετογαав' еис мааве нромпе  
 тῆмоофе мῆ ненернγ аγω мпе оγа ммон мωе мῆ ненернγ ноγ-  
 зооγ. пехе ппетоγαав непископос де анине φароι мпααмоγλ нта  
 тефωγ[р]ннте оγфбῆ. аγω аγентῆ φароф. не апкеес гар ῆтеф-  
 оγ[р]ннте оγфбῆ: пφаар ммаате [п]εтамаρте аγω нῆмоофе ρῆ 25  
 оγ[χι] нсонс еφχογρε ῆтефωρнн[те]. нтерῆнаγ де ептῆнн нси  
 п[пе]τογαав непископос мпечоγ[фω] ер пρωв ρа печρтор оγααф,  
 19b [εвол] де неφпнт εвол мπεооγ [εтфωγ]εиτ. пехαф мпкоγι | ете  
 нсαιαс пе пλιακωн де вωк анине наι ноγкоγι ммооγ ρῆ тлаканн.  
 афвωк афентῆ φароф. пехαф наф де `со'фсῆ еχῆ тефωρнннте екχω 30  
 ммос де ρῆ пран ῆпейт (мῆ пωнре) мῆ пепи(егн)а ετογαав' аγω  
 а(φ)сфрагize ммос ката θε нтафχоос наф. асτωфбе ῆси тефωρнннте  
 ρωс ефхе мпесоγфбῆ ептнрῆ.  
 47. нтерωйнаγ де епентафωфпе нси наноγβα аγρ φпнре εвол де  
 нсесооγн аη мпноγте. аρεнρωне еи еγпараге ερεнρῆпелак не. нтерωγ- 35  
 наγ епентафωфпе аγт еооγ мпноγте аγω аγвωк ερωγн етποlic аγт  
 псоеиτ мппетоγαав непископос етве нентаγнаγ ерооγ аγω аγтаме  
 пархιερεус мпῆпе ете поγннв пе етве печфнре снаγ а[γ]ω де пкоγι  
 етῆρнтоγ пен[та] тефпнре фωфпе εвол ριτοот[φ].



### Macedonius and the Miracle of the Camel's Leg

44. Now it happened when the bishop was sitting in his dwelling as he was reading the holy gospels—Mark was sitting by the door—that some Nubians came and sojourned at that place with their camels. And the strongest of them knocked down the weaker and broke its leg. When the Nubians saw what had happened they started to fight with each other. The owner of the camel whose leg was broken said to the other, “I shall take your camel instead of mine!”—and a great quarrel arose between the two of them. When Mark the priest saw them fighting with each other, he went to tell the bishop. He decided not to go to them. (But) when he arrived at the passage where it is written: “Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called children of God” (Matt. 5:9), he immediately closed the book and went to them.

45. When they saw him, the one who had suffered the loss ran up to him and said, “Come and sit down, my father, and listen to our case!”. And the bishop sat down. The Nubian said to him: “I tied up my camel but my friend did not tie his. His camel came, knocked mine to the ground and broke its leg”. When he had finished speaking, the other replied and said, “I did tie my camel, but it broke loose without me noticing it”.

46. The bishop was sitting silently until they finished all they had to say. The holy bishop said to them, “Was there any quarrel between you before today, except only the matter of the camel?” One of them said to him, “I shall tell you the truth, my holy father. We are already travelling together for thirty years and none of us fought with another for a single day”. The holy bishop said, “Bring me the camel whose leg is broken”. And they brought it to him. Indeed, its leg bone was broken. It was only the skin that held it (the leg) together and it walked with great difficulty, dragging its leg. When the holy bishop saw the animal, he did not want to act on his own authority, for he shunned vainglory. He told the younger one, that is, Isaiah the deacon, “Go and bring me some water in the basin”. He went and brought it to him. Then he said to him, “Sprinkle it on its leg while saying, ‘in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’”. And he made the sign of the cross over it just as he had told him. Its leg was fixed as if it had not been broken at all.

47. When the Nubians saw what had happened, they were amazed, for they did not know God. Some people from Philae came passing by. When they saw what had happened, they glorified God, went to the city and spread the fame of the holy bishop on account of what they had seen. And the high priest of the temple, that is, the priest, was told about his two sons and that the miracle was performed by the youngest of them.

- 20a 48. **Ν**ΤΕΡῘΩΤῤῥ ΔΕ **Ν**ΒΙ ΠΟΥΗ[**ΗΒ**] ΑΨΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΒΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ **Ο**[ΥΒΕΠΗ] |  
**Ν**ΨΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ [**Ν**]ΖΗΤῘ Μῆ ΝΕΨΩΗΡΕ. **Ν**ΤΕΡῘΩΝ ΔΕ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΩΩΠΕ, ΑΥΤΑΜΕ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΕΠΗ(ΕΥΗ)Δ. ΑΨΤΩΟΥ(**Ν**)  
 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ, ΑΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤῘ ΑΨΩ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΔΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ῆΤΑΚῥ ΖΗΥ ΝΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΑΚΠΛΑΝΑ ΜΠΕΙΜΗΗΩΕ ΕΤΡΕΥῥ ΟΣΕ ῆΤΕΥῥΥΧΗ; ΑΨΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΨΠΑΖῥῥ ΖΑ 5  
 ΝΕΨΟΥΡΗΗΤΕ ΑΨΩ ΕΨῥ ΠΕΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC  
 ΝΕΙΩΤ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΨΑΜΑΖΤΕ ῆΝΕΨΒΙΧ ΑΨΤΟΥΝΟΣῥ ΑΨΧΙῥῥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΨΜΑ  
 ΝΩΩΠΕ.
49. ΑΨΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ῥΟΥΗΗΒ ΝΑΨ ΕΠΕΨΜΟΣ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, ΑΨῥ  
 ΠΕΨΟΥΟΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΨΝΑΔCΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΨ[Δ] ΝΕΧΕΙ ΕΨΧΩ 10  
 ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚῥ [**Μ**]ΠΨΑ ΜΠΒΑΠῥCΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ῆ[ῥ]ῥῥΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ  
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 ΠΟΣ Ε[Β]ΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΕῥΡΑΨΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΑΨῥ Ε[ῥ]ΟΟῥῥ ΜΠῥΩΨ ΜΠΒΑΠῥCΜΑ  
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 ΑΨῥΑΧῥΟ Ζῆ ΠΕΨΖΗῥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥῥΕ, ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ῥΝΑΒΑΠῥΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ Α[**Ν**]  
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 [ῆCΠΟΥ]ΔΗ ΑΨΒΩΚ ΚΑῥΑ ΘΕ ΝῥΑΨ[ΖΩΗ Ε]ῥΟΟῥῥ ΑΨῥΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΨ ΜΠΕΨ[ῆ  
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51. **Ν**ΤΕΡΟΥCΩῥῥῥ ΝΒΙ ΝΑ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΑΨΡΑΨΕ ΖΙ ΟΥCΟΠ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΥΚΟΥῥ ΨΑ  
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1 Ζῆ [ΠΕῥΠΕ] Budge  
 CΩΟΥῥ

14 Ζ[ῆCΗ]Οῥ Budge

29 ΖΕῆῥῥCΟ ΝCΙΝΔΩΝΙΟΝ Budge

35 read

### Macedonius and the Temple Priest

48. When the priest heard this, he rushed off in a hurry to go to the place where the bishop lived with his sons. When he approached the dwelling, the bishop was informed by the Spirit and rose right away. He went out to meet him and said to him, "Aristos, what have you gained by leading astray this multitude so that they lose their souls?" And immediately he fell down at his feet and continued kissing them, saying, "Forgive me, my lord and father!" And he took his hands, raised him and brought him inside his dwelling.

49. It happened that when the priest saw his elder son, Mark, he went up to greet him. But the latter did not allow him, saying, "You are not yet worthy of holy baptism". When his father saw this, he was astonished and said to him, "Are you not my son?" He said to him, "Yesterday I was your son, but today I have acquired a good father". His father said, "Also tell me, then, how it is fitting to live". And Mark, his son, said to him, "Our father the bishop here will tell you how to live". And the bishop began to speak to him (quoting) from the Holy Scripture and initiated him in the ordinance of baptism and the right faith. When the priest heard these things, he said to the bishop, "Blessed am I, my holy father, that I am worthy to hear these sweet words from your holy mouth! I therefore ask you, my holy father, that you administer holy baptism to me, as you did to my sons".

50. When the bishop knew for certain that the fear of God touched him and that his heart was firmly set on God, he said, "I shall not baptize you here. Rise, go to the city, arrange your house and turn it into a church for the glory of our Lord Jesus". And he rose quickly and went just as he had ordered him. He arranged his house and threw out everything that was his. He fetched water, washed it (the house) entirely and adorned it with palm branches and linen cloths. And the priest sent a message to the bishop, saying, "I have taken care of everything as you ordered me. Rise and enter the city". And the bishop rose together with his disciples and they went.

### Philae Converted

51. When the inhabitants of the city heard about it, they rejoiced all together from the youngest to the oldest. They went out to meet him, brought him inside the house of the priest and made him sit upon a throne. And when he sat down, the multitude gathered around him and he instructed them

21b ῥῆ ἡλογος ἡπνοῦτε [εἰτα]μοοῦ ἐπιδῶ ἡπβαπτις[μα εἰ]τοῦααβ ἀφ’  
 ἐτρεῦμερε [νεγερη]γ ῥῆ οὔα[γαπ]ῆ ἐμῆ γῆπο[κρις οὔαε ἡντρεφχιζο]  
 ἡζητῶ. | [ἡ]тере οὔνοσ’ δε ἡναγ’ ὦω[πε εἰκα]ῶηγει ἡμοοῦ, πεχαῖ  
 ἡπο[γῆνβ χε] ἀρι πιδῶ νοῦμοοῦ. ντοῖ Δ[ε ἀφσβ]ιδῶτῶ. πεχαῖ οἷ  
 χε ἀνιηε ἡ[οὔκοῦι] ἡνεῖ. ντοῖ δε ἀφεντῶ. ἀφτ[ιδῶν] ἡῖ πεπισκοπος 5  
 ἀφῶληλ εἰν [τχῆ] ἡῖ πνεῖ κατα ἡκανῶν ἡνεῖ[οτε] εἰτοῦααβ ἡαποστο-  
 λος ἀφ’ πεχαῖ ἡἡαρκος πεπρεσβῦτερος Δ[ε] κῆρςσε ῥῆ τεκκλῆσια χε  
 πετοῦεω πχ(οει)с μαρῶει ὡαροι. ἀφ’ νεγτ’ πεγῶγῶι εἰροῖ γι οὔσοπ ῥῆ  
 οὔοῦροτ’ εἰροῖν εἰροῖ εἰβαπτ’ζε ἡμοοῦ. [α]φ’ ὡροῖ δε εἰποῖνῆβ’ ἀφβαп-  
 τ’ζε ἡμοῖ ἀφμοῦτε επεφран χε ιακῶβ. ἡῖнсωс ἡα τπολιс τῆρῶ, ἡροοῦт 10  
 ἡῖ ἡεῖοομε ἡῖ ἡῶηρε κοῦι’ ἡπελαаγ’ ὡωχῖῖ επазоу ἡζηтоῦ ἡπεφχι  
 βαпτιсма ἡπεзооу εἰтῖμαγ.

22a 52. ἡтерῶβωк δε εἰτεκκλῆσια ἡтерῶοῦω δε εἰ[φβαп]τ’ζε ἡμοοῦ ἡῖ  
 πεπισκοπος ἀφ[γμοο]с ἀφμοῦτε επ[р]ωμεεεφῶ ἡ[ὡроп α]φχειροδῶνει 15  
 [ἡμο]φ ἡπρεсв[γтерос’ ρομοι]φс οἷ π[ρῶме нтаφει] | [ὡ]αροῖ ἀφτα-  
 моῖ εἰтῶροпῶ χε сеΔωкѣи нсῶφ γитῖ ποῖнῆβ’ ἀφχειροδῶνει ἡμοῖ  
 ἡΔιαкон. εἰта πεχαῖ ἡαγ’ χε ере неске҃н ете ὡαγс҃наге ἡἡῶтῖ  
 γῶωῦ τῶн; πεχαῖ ἡαφ’ χε сеῖῖ οὔна еφгнп. ντοῖ δε ἀφκελεῦе  
 етρε҃нтоῦ ῥῆ οὔβепн. ἀγβωк δε ἡтеγῆноῦ, ἀγтῶоῦн ἀγентῶῖ ἡте҃-  
 ноῦ εἰтῶн ἡμοοῦ γι те҃наῖῖβ’ ἀφ’ ἀπεπισκοπος κελεῦе етρε҃кааγ 20  
 εῖραι ῥῆ тῃнте ἡпна. πεχαῖ ἡἡαρκος πεпρεсвῦтер’ο’с χε кῶлῗ  
 ἡῖкелеεε таρε пῃннѣ сῶоῡῗ етеκκлῆσια. ντοῖ δε ἀφειре ката  
 ѿ нтаφхоос ἡαφ’ ἀпῃннѣ тῆрῶ сῶоῡῗ. πεχε πεπισκοπος ἡа-  
 кῶв χε φι прооῡῗ но҃гнрῖ ἡῖ ρеноеик [ἡ]сῶтῖῖ χекас еиῃас҃наге  
 ἡп[лаос]. 25

22b 53. [ἡн]ῆса ἡаἰ ἀφ’ πῃεεε ἡ[тенτοлн ἡпенχ(οει)с ι(ἡсоῡ)с] χε  
 кῶ εβολ [таро҃кῶ ἡнтн εβολ’ πεχα]φ’ οἷ [χε ὡωπε ἡὡангтнч χε  
 οὔ]ὡан[гтнч] | πε петῖеиῶт етῖῖ ἡпн҃е. ἀφχ[ооῡ] етρε҃еиῃе ἡтῖлῶоῡ  
 ὡаροῖ γιχῖ οὔβῶс’ εβολ χε неῖῖ сῶм ἡмос εἰмоῡѣ. ἀγентῶс ἀ҃каас 30  
 γиῖн ἡπεπισκοπος. πεχαῖ ἡас ἡῖ πεπισκοπος χε (εре)писте҃е, ὡтῖлῶω,  
 χε πноῡте ὡооп; нтос δε аскнм ἡтесапе есῶω ἡмос χε се’ εβολ χε  
 (нес)еῡω χε ὡа χε ан етве тесапро етсаῡт γитῖ тапофасис ἡπεπισко-  
 пос нтаφтагос еῡῶс. ἀγтῶоῡн δε ἡῖ πεπισκοπος апа макеΔῶнι’ο’с  
 ἀφмооѣ εἰроῖн επεбῶс’ ἀφт’ пегтннве εἰроῖн ерῶс ἀφ’ ἡте҃гῆноῦ 35  
 ἀγβῶω ἡῖ ἡῖре ἡпеслас асῶа χε калῶс аст’ еооῡ ἡпноῡте. пῃннѣ  
 δε ἡтероῡнаγ επе(ἡ)тафῶωπε а҃φι ρраγ εβολ ῥῆ οὔнос нснн еῡῡω  
 ἡмос χε οὔа πε πноῡте ἡппетоῡааβ апа макеΔῶнιος πεπισκοπος

3 πεχαῖ ms. 5 ἀφτ[. . .] Budge 14 ετεφῶ ‘[. . .]ο[γῶω εἰ]χειροδῶνει Budge

in the words of God, telling them about the ordinance of holy baptism and how to love each other with a love in which there is no hypocrisy nor partiality. When he had instructed them for a long time, he said to the priest, "Prepare some water". And he prepared it. And he said to him, "Bring some oil". And he brought it. The bishop rose and prayed over the bowl and the oil according to the canons of the holy apostolic fathers. And he said to Mark the priest, "Proclaim in the church that whoever loves the Lord should come to me". And they came to him all together full of eagerness and he baptized them. He did the priest first: he baptized him and called him Jacob. Afterwards, from among the inhabitants of the entire city—men, women and small children—nobody was left who was not baptized that day.

52. When he had finished baptizing them, the bishop went into the church and sat down. He called the man who was first and ordained him priest. In the same way he ordained the man, who had come to him and told him that he should hide because he was chased by the priest, deacon. Then he said to them, "Where are the vessels with which Communion is administered to you?" They told him, "They are in a secret place". And he ordered them to bring them quickly. They went immediately. They rose and brought them right away, while they carried them on their shoulders. And the bishop ordered that they deposited them in the middle of the place. He said to Mark the priest, "Strike the gongs so that the multitude will gather in the church". He did as he told him and the entire multitude assembled. The bishop said to Jacob, "See to wine and choice bread so that I can administer Communion to the people".

53. Then he remembered the commandment of our Lord Jesus: "Forgive and you will be forgiven" (Luke 6:37), and he also said: "Be merciful, for your Father in heaven is merciful" (Luke 6:36). He sent a message to bring the old woman to him on a stretcher, for she was unable to walk. She was brought and put before the bishop. The bishop said to her, "Do you believe, old woman, that God exists?" And she moved her head so as to say, "Yes", for she could not say a word because her mouth was blocked by the judgment that the bishop had pronounced upon her. The bishop, Apa Macedonius, rose, walked towards the stretcher and put his finger into her mouth. And immediately the bonds of her tongue were released, and she spoke plainly and praised God. When the multitude saw what had happened they lifted up their voice and shouted: "One is the God of the holy Bishop Apa Macedonius

- 23a ἀ[γῶ μν] κενούτε η̄βλ[λαφ. πεχε τῇλλω ναφ χ]ε βαπ[ζε μμοι. αφβαπ-  
 τίζε μμος αφ]συ[ναγε μμος. ντερεφουω δε] | εφсynaγε μμμνηωε,  
 αφβωκ етекκλнcia αφρμοос ραζηγ нουγῶδoμαс η̄ροоу. αφχειροδoνει  
 ναγ η̄ρενπρεсвγтерос η̄η ρенΔιακoнoc εαφταμοоу еη̄κωт η̄η нкапωн  
 η̄текκλнcia. μη̄нca пcaφῶ δε η̄ροоу αφβωк еπεφма η̄φωπε. 5
54. асφωπε δε μη̄нca ρенрооу аπεφсωма ρроφ ероφ. неаφaи пе ρη̄  
 неφрооу. аφмоуτε еμaркoc пепресвγтерос η̄η нcaиaс пΔιακωн пеxαφ  
 ναγ χе еic ρη̄ηте аγρωн еρογн нci нерооу η̄паδ̄ηпωиe. нтoк δε  
 паφηpe μαркoc, η̄ηнca паxωк евоλ ппоуте наκαθicта μμοκ епама  
 η̄гρмоос еχ̄η παθρονoc. μoone καλωс μпооρε μппоуте, [ω п]аφηpe, 10  
 23b `κατα θε` нтаиταaс етootῳ. [ --- ] η̄тoотῶ нci [ --- ] . ема[ --- ]. |  
 афφωне аγω апφωне ρроφ еχωφ еπερογo аγω η̄φ† епаροу φa соу  
 caφῶ η̄ηxip. аφмоуте енеφηaθηтнc αφρωн етootоу η̄ρωв η̄ημ етеφωе  
 ерооу eaay. ρтoоуе δε нcoу φμοуη η̄ηxip аφηтoн μμοφ ρη̄ оγμη̄тῶλλo  
 енаноуc нci пeπicкoпoc етoγaав апа μαкеΔωнioc. нтepoуcωтῆ δε 15  
 η̄ci на тeφпoлic аγei евоλ епма етῶηρηтῶ. аγeиpe наφ η̄oγнoc η̄ρηве  
 етве χе неγне μμοφ емаaте аγω аγкocῶ ката пeφηпφa аγω аγтωηc  
 μμοφ пвоλ η̄πεφма η̄φωπε.
55. асφωπε δε μη̄нca ρенрооу еpe пма кη евоλ еφo натeπicкoпoc  
 аγсωoγρ ероγн нci пΔaoc тηpῶ пеxαγ η̄неγepнγ χе φa тнаγ енаme- 20  
 λei еπειноб нкеφaлиoн η̄тῆφиe аη нca оγωωс етpῆ[ --- ] пeη . [ --- ] ..  
 24a [ --- ] | κeoγa χе μiω η̄ηημ η̄Διακoн. неaγp φomῆт δε η̄рооу еγφaχe  
 η̄η неγepнγ η̄тeиpe аγω η̄поγтeφ λaay η̄ρωв. аφтωoγн δε аφaazep-  
 paтῶ η̄ci пноб η̄πpeсвγтep`o`c η̄текκλнcia пеxαφ η̄μμнηωе χе †наxω  
 η̄ηтῆ η̄oγφaχe пaиeφηпφa η̄aay, еφωπε тeтηaсωтῆ η̄ci. пеxαγ наφ 25  
 η̄ci пepoγo η̄пΔaoc χе аχиφ еpon. еφωπε еφпpeпei тῆηaay. нтoφ δε  
 пеxαφ наγ χе μαpῆсωтῆ η̄ρηpωме евоλ η̄ρηтῆ ката θε η̄cтeφaнoc η̄η  
 неφωβηp η̄тηηeχ κηηpoc. пeтepе пeκηηpoc η̄aтaρoφ η̄тῆxитῶ η̄тῆxει-  
 poΔoнei μμοφ η̄eπicкoпoc.

18 η̄πεγма Budge 21 аη η o[ .. ]φωс Budge 22 read ηeφe ηηη 28 ηcηeηeχ ms.

and there is no other god besides him!" The old woman told him, "Baptize me!" And he baptized her and administered her Communion. When he finished administering Communion to the multitude, he went to the church and sat down among them for a full week. He ordained priests and deacons for them, having taught them the rules and canons of the Church. After the seven days he went to his dwelling.

### **The Death of Macedonius**

54. It happened after some days that his body started to cause him difficulties, for he was advanced in years. He called Mark the priest and Isaiah the deacon, and said to them, "The days of my visitation have drawn near. As for you, my son Mark, after my perfection (in death) God will establish you in my place and you will sit upon my throne. Tend the flock of God well, my son, just as I have instructed you". [...] from him [...]. He fell ill and the illness weighed heavily on him and he grew worse until the seventh of Mechir (1 February). He called his disciples and instructed them in everything that was fitting for them to do. Early on the eighth of Mechir (2 February) the holy Bishop Apa Macedonius went to rest at a good old age. When the citizens heard this, they went to the place where he lived and mourned him greatly for they loved him very much. They prepared him for burial as befitted his dignity and buried him outside his dwelling.

### **The Election of Mark**

55. It happened after some days in which the place was left without a bishop that all the people gathered and said to each other, "Until when shall we neglect this important matter and not search for a shepherd so that we [...] our [...]. Another one (said), "Such and such a deacon". They spent three days talking with each other in this way and did not decide anything. Then the senior priest of the church rose, stood and said to the multitude, "I shall give you a piece of advice that is worthy to be followed, if you will listen to me". The majority of the people said to him, "Tell us! If it is fitting, we shall follow it". He said to them, "Let us choose men from among ourselves, just as Stephen and his companions were, and cast lots. We shall take the one upon whom the lot falls and ordain him bishop".





56. It happened that when the priest had finished speaking the archdeacon replied in turn and said, "I also have something that I would like to say". The majority of the people said, "Tell us!" He said, "When a man dies, who is it that inherits? Is it not his sons?" They said, "It is his sons". And the archdeacon said, "Look, the heirs are present and you have not yet considered them!" When he had said this they remembered Mark and Isaiah, and the entire people replied, "What the archdeacon says shall happen". And immediately they sent for them and they were brought to the place where they were. They sat down in the church and told the matter to Mark the priest. But he told them, "Forgive me, my fathers, I am unworthy of such a task. Look for someone else who will take care of the flock of Christ". The entire people loved Mark for his knowledge and wisdom as he had been well educated by his father, the Bishop Apa Macedonius. They seized him by force and wrote to the holy Archbishop Athanasius about him [...] and [...] they sailed with him to Alexandria.

### Mark in Alexandria

57. When we entered the city, we looked for the patriarch, but we did not find him in the church that day, for he was a holy man who greatly loved solitude. When some devout men informed us that he had withdrawn to a small monastery west of the city, we asked one of them to take us to him, because we did not know the place. Now when we had reached the place where he stayed, a deacon came out and we told him the matter for which we had come. He went up and informed the archbishop, and he sent someone outside and brought us in. We fell to the ground and paid homage to his holy feet.

58. The holy archbishop, Apa Athanasius, had been informed by the Spirit [...] days before [...] to us [...]. Saint Athanasius answered and said to Mark, "Have you forgotten, my son, the moment in which you were dressed with the tunic and covered with the stole? This is the day that has been destined for you, faithful priest!". Mark was amazed about what he said to him, that he knew about the vision, for he had not told anyone about it, except Bishop Apa Macedonius and his brother Isaiah. And Mark said, "You are truly a saint of God, my blessed lord and father!" The archbishop said, "You yourself even more so, for you were a disciple of a saintly bishop and holy man!" When he had said this, he ordered a deacon to bring us to a lodging of our own and ordered that [...].

- 26a 59. [N]τερε ρτοογ[ε δε ωωπε --- α]γτρεγ[ --- ] . . [ --- ]. | αγει  
 ρωωογ ON NCI ρΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠCΑ ΝΕΜΡΙΓ ΕΥΟΓΩΩ ΕΧΙ CMOY ΝΤΟΟΤῒ.  
 ΑΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΓΤΑΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ. ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕ Ν(†)CΧΟΛΑΖΕ ΑΝ.  
 ΠΕΧΑΔ 'ΝΟΥΑ' ΜΗΟΟΥ ΧΕ CΚΥΛΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤ(Ν) ΝΤΕΤῒΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΝΗΤῒ ΩΑ  
 ρΤΟΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ CΕΡΑΖΤΗΝ ΝCΙ ρΕΝCΝΗΥ ΕΝΑ ΠΜΑΡΗC ΝΕ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡῒΤΑ- 5  
 ΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ ΝΤΩΤῒ ΝΤῒΒΩΚ ΝΤῒΩΛΗΛ ρῒ  
 ΠΜΟΝ{ΟΝ}ΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤῒΚΤΟΝ ΩΑΡΟΚ.  
 60. ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ† ΝΑΔ ΜΠΕΥΓΦΙCΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡῒΩΩῒ ΑΦΡΑΩΕ ΕΝΑΔΤΕ  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΝΑΝ ΧΕ †ΡΑΩΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ ΕΧῒ ΝΕCΟΟΥ ΕΤCΟΡῒ ΕΤῒΝ ΤΕΤῒ-  
 ΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ. ΑΓΤΑΜΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ 10  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΚΑΝΩΝ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΕCΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤῒΩΩ ΝΑΩ ΝῒΕ; ΑΝΤΑ[ΜΟΥ] ΕΘΕ  
 ΝΤΑ ΠΕΝ{ΕΝ}ΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΓΕ[ΔΩΝΙΟC ΤΑΑC ΝΤΟΟΤ]ῒ. ΝΤΕΡῒCΩΤῒ [ΔΕ  
 26b ΕΝΑΙ ΑΔΧΟΟC ΧΕ --- ΕΤΟΥΑ]ΔΒ ΠΕ[ --- ]ΧΗ | ΑΝΚΩΤ ΕΧΩC. ΩΝΤΩC  
 ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΠΕΤῒΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΚΩ ΕῒΡΑΙ ΝΤCῒΝΤΕ {ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΑΥΚΩΤ ΩΑΝΤΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤCῒΝΤΕ} ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΚΩΤ ΩΑΝΤΕΥΧΩΚῒ ΕΒΟΛ 15  
 Νῒ† ΠΛΩΒῒ. ΝΤΩΤῒ ΔΕ ρΩΩΤΤΗΥΤῒ ΠΩΤῒ ΠΕ ρΑΡΕῒ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΟΝΟΥ  
 ΕΤΕΤΗΥΤῒ.  
 61. ΝΤΕΡῒΟΥΩ ΔΕ ΕΩΩΑΧΕ ΝῒΜΑΝ ΠΕΧΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΝ ΟΥΩΑΧΕ Ο ΝῒΧΡΟΠ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΑΜΟΚ ΕΡΟΥ, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΠΕΧΕ  
 ΠΑΡΧΗΠΕΠCΚΟΠΟC ΧΕ ΑΧΙῒ. ΠΕΧΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥῒΕΘΝΟC ΝCΑ ΠΕΙΕΒῒ 20  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΑΥΩ ρῒ ΠΕΜῒΤ ΜΠΡΗC ΝΤῒΠΟΛΙC ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΥΒΑ, ΕΦΡ  
 ὚Ωῒ ΕΝΑΔΤΕ' ΩΑCΩΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝCΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ † ΟΥΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΝ.  
 ΩΑΡΕ ΠΑΛΟΓΙCΜΟC ΚΙΜ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΤῒ† ΝΑΥ ΕΒ[ΟΛ] ΧΕ ΟΥῒΕΘΝΟC Πῒ [ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ  
 ΑΝ ΕΠ]ΝΟΥΤΕ.  
 62. [ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΑΚΩΠΙΝΕ Ν]ΤΟΟ[Τ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΕΝΔ(ΟΕΙ)C Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C 25  
 27a ΠΕΤΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ρῒ ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΩΠΙΝΕ ΤΑΡΕΤῒ]ῒΩΠΙΝΕ' ΤΩῒΝ ΤΑΡ(ΟΥ)-  
 ΟΥΩΝ ΝΗΤῒ. ΜΗ ΜΠΕΚCΩΤῒ ΕΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΜΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑ  
 ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΜΑΥΔΑΥ ΠΕ; ΜΠΑ ΝῒΚΕῒΕΘΝΟC ΑΝ ΠΕ; ΕῒΕ, ΠΑ ΝΚΕῒΕΘΝΟC ΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ  
 ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΑΔ ΝΑΒΡΑῒΑΜ ΧΕ ΕΙC ρῒΝΗΤΕ ΑΙΚΩ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝῒΑῒ  
 ΝῒΕΘΝΟC. ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΝῒΚΟΡΝΙΛΙΟC ρῒ ΝΕΠΡΑῒΙC ΧΕ ΟΥῒΕΘΝΟC Πῒ' ΕΤΒΕ 30  
 ΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤῒΝΟΟΥ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΝΟῒ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC,  
 ΑΥΒΑΠ†ΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΝΟ ΕΙΑΤῒ ΕΒΟΛ ρῒ ΠῒΟΡΟΜΑ ΕΤῒΕΠ ΛΑΔΥ ΝῒΩΜΕ  
 ΧΕ ΥΧΑῒῒ Η ΧΕ ΟΥΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΠΕ.  
 63. ΚΧΙ ΝΟΥΗΗΡ ΜΗῒΤΗῒΤΡΕ ΕΡΟΚ, Ω ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΑΩΗΡΕ, ΕΤΡΕΥΠΛΗΡΟ-  
 ΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ρῒ ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ; ΠΕΧΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΧΕ ΑΙΩΠΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ 35  
 27b ΑΙ[ῒΠΙΝΕ' ΑΙΓΩῒῒ ΑΥΩ] ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΙ' [ --- ] . ΧΙΝ [ --- ] . . [ --- ]. | ΠΕΧΕ

2 ΝΕῒΗΤ ms. 3 ΑΓΤΑΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῒ ms. 8 ΝΤΕΡῒΩΩῒ ms. 10 ΑΓΤΑΜΟΟΥ ms. 12  
 read ΝΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟC 15 read ΩΑΝΤΕΥΧΩΚῒ

59. When it became morning [...] he made them [...]. And also some magistrates from the north came, who wished to receive his blessing. The deacon entered and told him about them. He said, "I have no time". He said to one of them, "Take the trouble to withdraw until tomorrow morning, for there are brothers from the south with us". When he had told them, they departed, saying, "Pray for us, then, and we shall go and pray in the monastery of Apa Menas and return to you".

60. We handed over the nomination to him and when he had read it, he rejoiced greatly and said to us, "I am extremely happy about the lost sheep in your city whom God, the lover of mankind, has turned to repentance!" He instructed us in the canons of the Church and (asked), "What is your reading practice?" And we told him how our father Apa Macedonius had transmitted it to us. When he had heard this he said, [...] holy [...] and we built upon it (cf. 1 Cor. 3:10). Truly, my sons, for not only did your holy father lay down the foundation, but he built until he finished it up to its gable. Now it is up to you to adhere to what he has commanded you".

### Mark Asks the Advice of Athanasius about the Nubians

61. When he finished speaking to us, Mark the priest said, "One matter worries me that I would like to talk to you about, my holy father". The archbishop said, "Go ahead". Mark said, "There lives a people to the east and south-west of our city that is called Nubians who are very poor. For it regularly happens that they ask us, 'Give us a piece of bread!'. My mind is inclined to refuse it to them since they are a people that does not believe in God.

62. He said, "Excellent that you have asked me! For our Lord Jesus proclaims in the Gospels: 'Seek and you will find; knock and it will be opened to you' (Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9). Have you not heard the Apostle say: 'Does God belong to the Jews alone? Is he not also the God of the gentiles? Certainly, he is also the God of the gentiles, for God is one' (Rom. 3:29–30). He said to Abraham: 'Look, I have made you father of many nations' (Gen. 17:5; Rom. 4:17). And he also spoke to Cornelius in Acts—for he was a gentile. Because God is one, he sent Peter, the great apostle, to him and he baptized him after he had shown him through the vision 'not to consider anyone as impure or unclean' (Acts 10:28).

63. How many testimonies from the Holy Scriptures do you need, Mark, my son, in order to be convinced?" Mark said, "I have sought and I have found; I have knocked and it has been opened to me!" [...] since [...]. The

παρχνεπισκοπος ναϥ χε ογκοϥ(ν) εκο νατσοοϥν εναι φα τενοϥ; μπек-  
ωϥ ρη̄ νεγαγγελιον χε нта пенсωτηρ χоос χε οϥ η̄тесзime н̄хана-  
наia; πεχαϥ χε наноϥс аη̄ еχi нпоеik н̄н̄ωηре ενοϥχε нмоϥ η̄неϥзoor.  
нтос δε асоϥωϣ̄б̄ есχω нмос χε се пхоеic, η̄кеоϥзoor φαϥοϥωη̄ εβολ  
ρ̄η̄ несприϣе етзηϥ εβολ ρ̄η̄ тетраπεза η̄неϥχicооϥе. аη̄аϥ χε нта 5  
пенс(ωт)ηρ епαιноϥ η̄тесапologia ναϥ η̄зе̄ πεχαϥ нас χε οϥ тесзime,  
οϥнос те тоϥпicтic' маpесωпne нη̄ η̄ое̄ ет̄роϥаϣ̄с̄. аϥω асlo η̄би тес-  
оере χin теϥноϥ ет̄η̄наϥ етве пeиϣаχe нмаате.

28a 64. πεχαϥ οη̄ нби παρχнеπισκοπος χε †наχω ерок нкепараволн еai-  
сотм̄с нтоотοϥ η̄нeneиote нмонохос нαι етωоо̄п ρ̄η̄ нт̄[ --- а]rike η̄[ 10  
--- ]не̄[ .... πεχε οϥа η̄зηтоϥ χε нмон, на]η̄ноϥ пeϥзωв аη̄' еϣeиpе ме̄[н  
а]λλ̄[а нϥ]зωп μπeteϣeиpе нмоϥ аη̄. [п]εχαϥ οη̄ нби iаккωвос ρ̄η̄ неϥ-  
каθολικон χε пeтχω нмос χε анок оϥρ̄̄ω̄η̄ω̄е н̄χалиноϥ аη̄ μπeϥλac  
аλλα еϣаpата μπeϥзηт, пaи пeϥω̄η̄ω̄е φоϥеit. πεχε пкеоϥа зωωϥ χε  
се, наноϥ пeϥзωв. ϥχω нмос нби пeψαλμοaдос етоϥаав aа(γi)а χε 15  
†на† η̄наωηηη̄ η̄п̄η̄то εβολ ноϥон нim ет̄р зоте зηт̄̄ η̄пχ(оеi)с. аϥω  
οη̄ папостоλос χω нмос χε ωηηη̄  
аχ̄η̄ ωχ̄η̄. ειс зηη(те) сeπληροфо-  
реi нмон εβολ ρ̄η̄ негрaφη̄ ρ̄η̄ зaз  
мма етве пeωηηη̄. 20

Or. 7558 (89 + 150) v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. i)

[ --- ]ε̄[ --- ] . . [ --- ]ε̄η̄ . . [пλη-  
ροфо]p̄i η̄мон [ев]ол ρ̄[н] не̄г̄[ра-  
φ]η̄ етве пeωηηη̄.

65. аϥοϥω[ϣ̄в] η̄би пкесон ет-  
̄η̄[маϥ οη̄ п]εχ[аϥ χ]е пeηс[ω-  
тн]p̄ [де аϥχ.]оос χε η̄тоκ де̄  
[екнаωηηη̄, в]ωк εзоϥη̄ еп̄ек[та-  
мion нгω]та̄м η̄пекρ̄о [нгωηηη̄  
епек]еiωт ет̄з̄η̄ п̄eт̄з̄η̄[п̄ аϥω  
пекeи]ωт ет[с̄]φωт̄ [ерок қна-  
тωωве] наκ. [πεχε пкеоϥа οη̄  
зομοiωс] χε а[нок ρω --- ]

65. πεχαϥ οη̄ нби пкесон ет̄η̄-  
мааϥ χε апенсωτηρ тамон χε  
нтоκ екнаωηηη̄, вωк εзоϥ(η̄) епe-  
κтаmion н̄гωта̄м μπекρο ерок  
н̄гωηηη̄ епекeиωт ет̄з̄η̄ ппe{т̄}- 25  
өнп̄ аϥω пекeиωт ет̄с̄ωт̄ ерок  
з̄м ппe{т̄}өнп̄ қнатωωве наκ.  
πεχε пкеоϥа οη̄ зωмаiос χε анок  
ρω н†т̄пicтeϥе аη̄ епeиρωв. πεχε  
пкесон наϥ χε маp̄η̄χноϥ апа- 30  
φοϥ пкωз̄т̄ аϥω қната̄мон еп̄ωλ

28b μπeт̄η̄ωine нсωϥ [χε нненс̄ω еϥ†т̄ωη̄ нη̄ н]е̄п̄eр̄η̄ϥ. | [πειρ̄λλο] δε ане-  
сн̄[γ̄] †οϥран ероϥ χε [пк]ωз̄[т̄ ε]вол χε меϣаpиске нлааϥ η̄ρωme ρ̄η̄  
п̄eт̄с̄мон̄т̄.

4 асоϥωϣ̄б̄: с corr. < ϥ || η̄кеоϥορoor ms. 5 несприϣе ms. 6 οϥ: read ω 7-8 пeс-  
оере Budge 16 η̄η̄аωηηη̄ ms. 23 екнаωηηη̄: н corr. < ϥ

archbishop said to him, "Have you then been ignorant of these things until now? Have you not read in the Gospels what our Saviour said to the Canaanite woman? He said: 'It is not fair to take the bread of the children and throw it to the dogs' (Matt. 15:26). She replied, saying: 'Yes, lord, yet even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table' (Matt. 15:27). Observe how our Saviour approved of her reply. He said to her: 'Woman, great is your belief! Let it happen for you as you wish. And from that moment her daughter was healed' (Matt. 15:28), because of this word alone.

64. The archbishop further said, "I shall also tell you a parable that I heard from our fathers the monks, who lived in the [...] blame [...]. One of them said, 'No, his work is not good. No doubt he accomplishes (it), but he does not hide what he accomplishes! Moreover, James said in his catholic letter: "Anyone who says 'I am a worshipper' and does not bridle his tongue but misleads his heart, his worship is worthless" (Jas. 1:26)'. But the other one said, 'Yes, his work is good. The holy Psalmist David says: "I shall offer my prayers before everyone who fears the Lord" (Ps. 21:26). And the Apostle also says: "Pray without ceasing" (1Thess. 5:17). Indeed, in the Scriptures we are taught about prayer in many places'.

65. Again that other brother said, 'Our Saviour told us: "When you are going to pray, go into your room, close your door and pray to your father who is in secret. And your father who sees you in secret will reward you" (Matt. 6:6)'. The other one spoke again in the same vein, 'I believe no such thing'. The other brother said to him, 'Let us ask Apaphou the Fire and he will let us know the solution to the problem

that we are investigating in order that we do not remain in dispute with each other'. This old man the brothers nicknamed 'the Fire' because he did not give in to anybody on matters of principle.

Or. 755<sup>8</sup> (89 + 150) v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. i)

[...] provide us proof from the Scriptures about prayer'.

65. Again that other brother answered and said, 'However, our Saviour said: "But when you are going to pray, go into your room, close your door and pray to your father who is in secret. And your father who sees you will reward you" (Matt. 6:6)'. The other one spoke again in the same vein, 'I [...]

66. απσον δε снаγ τωογν αγπωτ φαρογ αγω αγμογτε εζογν  
κατα πκανων η̄νεσνηγ. ᾱφει εβολ ᾱφχιτογ εζογν επεφτοπος αγωληλ  
αγρμοος ε̄ρραι ρι ογσον αγω πεχαγ ναγ γε καλωс ᾱтет̄νει несνηγ.

Or. 7558 (89 + 150) r<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. ii)

. [ - - - ] πε[χαγ ναγ γε καλωс  
ᾱтет̄νει] не̄с[ннγ. нтоογ πεχαγ  
ναγ γε] κω η̄[αν εβολ πενειωτ.  
ᾱφ]ογωφв н̄с̄и [п̄н̄ п̄н̄та̄φ]ϛ̄η̄  
ᾱριке [ε]π̄с̄[он̄ γε ε̄φειρε] ρ̄η̄ ογ-  
(ογ)ων̄ε̄ εβολ, [ᾱφταμογ] ε̄т̄ве  
п̄т̄των̄ ε̄т̄[ωοп̄ ρ̄н̄ т̄εγ̄]η̄н̄те. ᾱφ-  
ογωφ[в н̄с̄и п̄ρ̄λλο] γε κω н̄αι  
εβολ η̄[εсннγ, ογ]ρ̄ӣс̄ε̄ п̄ε̄ т̄των̄ [ρ̄η̄  
те̄г̄ра̄φ̄н̄] εβολ γε φ̄а̄[с̄моγρ̄ ρ̄η̄  
ογ̄ма̄], η̄с̄[в̄]ω̄λ̄ ρ̄[н̄ ογ̄ма̄. п̄л̄н̄н̄  
т̄на̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄р̄]ω̄т̄η̄ [ноγφᾱγε - - -]

нтоογ πεχαγ ναγ γε κω н̄ан̄  
εβολ πενειωτ̄ ε̄тоγ̄а̄а̄в̄. ᾱπογ̄а̄ δε  
η̄ρ̄η̄тоγ̄ χ̄ω̄ρ̄η̄ επ̄κεογ̄а̄ γε φ̄а̄χ̄ε.  
ᾱφογωφ̄в̄ н̄с̄ӣ п̄ε̄т̄с̄η̄ а̄ριке̄ επ̄с̄он̄  
γε ε̄φ̄ειρε̄ η̄νε̄φ̄πολγ̄т̄а̄ ρ̄η̄ ογ-  
(ογ)ων̄ε̄ εβολ, ᾱφ̄та̄моγ̄ ε̄т̄ве̄ п̄т̄-  
των̄ ε̄т̄ρ̄η̄ т̄εγ̄η̄н̄те. ᾱφ̄ογωφ̄в̄ н̄с̄ӣ  
п̄ρ̄λλο γε κω н̄αι εβολ несннγ,  
ογ̄р̄ӣс̄ε̄ п̄ε̄ т̄των̄ ρ̄η̄ не̄г̄ра̄φ̄н̄ εβολ  
γε φ̄а̄с̄моγρ̄ ρ̄η̄ ογ̄ма̄, н̄с̄в̄ω̄λ̄ ρ̄η̄  
ογ̄ма̄. п̄л̄н̄н̄ т̄на̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄р̄ω̄т̄η̄ ноγ-  
φ̄а̄γε̄ е̄п̄а̄ п̄е̄ӣс̄о̄с̄мо̄с̄ п̄ε̄. а̄с̄ω̄-  
п̄ε̄ δε η̄ογ̄ρ̄ом̄п̄ε̄ м̄п̄ε̄ та̄на̄в̄а̄с̄ӣс̄  
ω̄п̄ε̄ н̄те̄ н̄с̄ω̄φ̄ε̄ т̄η̄ρογ̄ χ̄ӣ моογ̄  
ᾱλλᾱ ρ̄ε̄н̄κογ̄ӣ. не̄γ̄н̄ρ̄ω̄ме̄ δε снаγ̄

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29a ρ̄η̄ ογ̄η̄ῑ ноγ̄ω̄т̄. п̄ε̄χ̄ε̄ ογ̄а̄ η̄ρ̄η̄тоγ̄ γε т̄на̄п̄ω̄т̄ εβολ ε̄т̄с̄ω̄φ̄ε̄ н̄та̄на̄γ̄  
γε [т̄]на̄ε̄ω̄χ̄ω̄ ноγ̄κογ̄ӣ не̄поγ̄е̄ӣн̄, | м̄η̄п̄о̄с̄ н̄т̄η̄моγ̄ ρ̄а̄ п̄ε̄ρ̄κο̄ ρ̄[ӣ ογ̄с̄]оп̄.  
п̄ε̄χ̄ε̄ п̄κεογ̄а̄ γε н̄т̄на̄в̄ω̄к̄ а̄н̄ а̄но̄к̄ γε м̄п̄ε̄ н̄с̄ω̄φ̄ε̄ т̄η̄ρογ̄ χ̄ӣ моογ̄· ε̄т̄ве̄  
п̄а̄ӣ н̄с̄е̄на̄ρ̄ φ̄а̄γ̄ а̄н̄. ᾱφ̄в̄ω̄к̄ δε εβολ н̄с̄ӣ п̄ε̄н̄та̄φ̄х̄ε̄ п̄φ̄а̄χ̄ε̄ επ̄ε̄φ̄ω̄в̄н̄ρ̄,  
ᾱφ̄χ̄ω̄ ноγ̄κογ̄ӣ н̄с̄ογ̄о̄ м̄η̄ ογ̄κογ̄ӣ η̄ειω̄т̄ м̄η̄ ογ̄κογ̄ӣ на̄ρ̄ω̄ӣн̄ м̄η̄ ογ̄κογ̄ӣ  
ноγ̄ρ̄ω̄ м̄η̄ п̄к̄ε̄с̄ε̄п̄ε̄ η̄не̄с̄ρ̄о̄о̄с̄ ка̄та̄ т̄ρ̄ε̄. п̄ρ̄ε̄в̄он̄ δε ᾱφ̄с̄η̄ с̄ом̄ ε̄ρ̄ραῑ ε̄χ̄η̄  
п̄ка̄ρ̄. т̄ε̄ноγ̄ с̄ε̄ на̄с̄н̄н̄γ̄, η̄ӣм̄ η̄ρ̄η̄тоγ̄ п̄ε̄т̄на̄ω̄н̄ε̄· п̄ε̄н̄та̄φ̄χ̄ω̄ ноγ̄κογ̄ӣ п̄ε̄  
χ̄ӣн̄ η̄ӣом̄н̄ п̄ε̄те̄ м̄п̄ε̄φ̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄п̄т̄η̄ρ̄̄ п̄ε̄;

67. ᾱφ̄ογωφ̄в̄ н̄с̄ӣ п̄ε̄т̄т̄των̄ γε п̄ε̄н̄та̄φ̄χ̄ω̄ ноγ̄κογ̄ӣ н̄с̄ρ̄о̄о̄с̄ п̄ε̄. п̄ε̄χ̄ε̄  
п̄п̄ε̄тоγ̄а̄а̄в̄ наγ̄ γε а̄κ̄к̄р̄ӣне̄ ρ̄η̄ ογ̄с̄о̄ογ̄т̄η̄, п̄а̄φ̄н̄ρ̄ε̄· κᾱῑ γ̄а̄ρ̄ п̄ε̄т̄на̄ε̄ӣρε̄  
ρ̄ο̄λ̄ω̄с̄ ноγ̄κογ̄ӣ н̄ε̄н̄то̄л̄н̄ φ̄на̄ω̄н̄ε̄ па̄ра̄ п̄ε̄те̄ м̄п̄ε̄φ̄ειρε̄ ε̄п̄т̄η̄ρ̄̄. н̄т̄εγ̄ноγ̄  
а̄п̄с̄он̄ ε̄т̄η̄ма̄γ̄ па̄ρ̄т̄̄ м̄п̄ε̄т̄ε̄φ̄т̄των̄ н̄η̄ма̄γ̄ ρ̄η̄ п̄т̄ρ̄̄с̄ω̄т̄η̄ [ε]п̄ε̄φ̄χ̄п̄ӣο̄  
ε̄φ̄χ̄ω̄ м̄ӣо̄с̄ γε κω н̄αι [εβολ, па̄с̄он̄, γε κс̄]η̄ом̄т̄. αγω̄ та̄ӣ [те̄ θ̄ε̄ н̄та̄  
не̄с̄н̄н̄γ̄ χ̄ӣ с̄в̄ω̄] ρ̄ӣтоο̄т̄̄ | ε̄γ̄т̄ ρ̄η̄[γ̄] м̄п̄ε̄с̄на̄γ̄.

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2 η̄νε̄с̄н̄н̄γ̄ ms. 3 η̄ε̄с̄н̄н̄γ̄ ms. 8 η̄νε̄φ̄πολγ̄т̄а̄ ms. 9 read -с̄η̄ 21–22 ε̄т̄ве̄ γε ms.  
26 η̄ӣом̄н̄ ms. 30 η̄η̄ма̄γ̄: γ̄ corr. < γ̄ 31 ]η̄η̄т̄ Budge 32 н̄тоο̄т̄̄ Budge

66. The two brothers rose and hurried to him. And they announced themselves according to the rule of the brothers. He appeared and received them in his cell. They prayed and sat down together, and he said to them, 'Excellent that you have come, brothers'. They said to him, 'Forgive us, our holy father'. One of them signalled the other one to speak. The one who blamed the (other) brother for performing his ascetic practices in public answered and told him about the quarrel between them. The old man answered, 'Forgive me, brothers. Quarreling about the Scripture is difficult, for it binds in one place and unbinds in another. Rather, I shall tell you a story that concerns this world. It happened one year that the inundation did not occur and not all the fields received

Or. 7558 (89 + 150) r<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. ii)

[...] he said to them, 'Excellent that you have come, brothers'. They said to him, 'Forgive us, our father'. The brother who blamed the (other) brother for accomplishing (his ascetic life) in public answered and told him about the quarrel that existed between them. The old man answered, 'Forgive me, brothers. Quarrelling about the Scripture is difficult, for it binds in one place and unbinds in another. Rather, I shall tell you a story [...]

water, but only a few. Now there were two men living in the same house. One of them said, "I shall go out to the field and see whether I can sow a bit of land, so as to avoid that we shall both die from hunger". The other said, "I shall not go, for not all of the fields have received water and therefore they will be of no use". The one who had spoken to his friend went out and sowed a little wheat, a bit of barley, some lentils, a few beans and the other remaining seeds in the same manner. And famine prevailed in the land. Now then, my brothers, who of them will survive? The one who sowed a little or the one who did not sow at all?

67. The one who quarreled answered, 'The one who sowed a bit of seed'. The holy man said to him, 'You have judged correctly, my son. For he who will carry out even a small commandment will live rather than he who has done nothing at all'. Immediately when he heard his rebuke that brother kneeled down for the one with whom he quarreled, saying, 'Forgive me, my brother, for you are right'. And thus the brothers were instructed by him, while both profited.

68. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ, ΝΤΑΙΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΕΘΝΟΣ ΝΤΑΚ-  
ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῆ. ΟΥΖΗΥ ΠΕ ΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΣ  
ΕΤΡΕΥΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕ Μῆ ΑΓΑΠΗ Ζῆ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ' ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ  
ΖΩ(Β)Σ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧῆ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ῆΝΟΒΕ. ΠΡΕΘΝΟΣ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΖΑΠῆ ΠΕ ΕΤΡῆΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜῆΝΣΑ ΟΥΟΕΙΩ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ  
ῆΘΕ ῆΟΥΒΙΛΒΙΛΕ Ζῆ ΠΕΣΜΑΖ' ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ῆΤΑQ ΧΟΟΣ ΝΟΙ ΗΣΑΙΔ ΧΕ ΗΠῚΤΑΚΟQ  
ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ῆΖΗΤῆ. 5

69. ΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ῆΤΕΡῆΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΧΗΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑ-  
ΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΕΧΑQ ΜΠΕQΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΧΕ QΙ ΠΡΟΟΥQ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΧΕ ΕΝΝΑΧΕΙ-  
ΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑQῚΩΟΥΝ ΑQΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΟΙΧ 10  
ΜΜΑΡΚ'Ο'C [Δ]QΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΕCΙΑ ΕΡΕ Π[Η]ΗΝΩΕ ΤΗΡῆ ΜΟΟQΕ  
ΜῆΜΑQ. ΑQΧΙ[ΡΟ]ΔΩΝΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΑQΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑQΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΜΑ ΕΝΕQῆΖΗΤῆ  
30a ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑQ [ΜΠ]ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ [ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΟΥΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ] | ΝΤῆΟΥΩΜ ΝΟΥ-  
ΟΕΙΚ Μῆ [ΝΕΝ]ΕΡΗΥ. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΝΗΠΩΑ ΝΧΙ ΠΕCΜΟΥ ΝΤΕQΜῆΤ-  
ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΑΝῚ ΘΩΜῆΤ ῆΖΟΥQ ΖΑΖΤΗQ ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ῚΖΕ. Ζῆ ΠΜΕΖ- 15  
QΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥQ ΑQῚ ΝΑΝ ῆΤCΥCΤΑ(ΤΙ)ΚΗ ῆΤΗῆΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΣ ΑQΚΑΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ.  
ΝΤΕΡῆῚ ΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΡΟ ΑQῚῆΝΟΟΥ ΜΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ QΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟ-  
ΠΟΣ ΑQΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ QΑΡΟQ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΠΕΚΤΟ-

Or. 7558 (93) r<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iii)

[ΤΟΠΟΣ], ΤΑ[ΛΕ CΙΧ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΚCΟΝ  
ΝΩΟ]ΡῚ ΝῚΑ[ΑQ ΜΠΡΕCΒ]ῚΤΕΡΟΣ  
ΕΤΒ[Ε ΧΕ ΕQΤΗΩ ΖΩ]ΩQ ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΩ-  
[ΜΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ Α]ῚῚ ΖΙΩΩQ ῆΤΕ-  
Q[ΤΗΝ ΑΥ]Ω ΑΥCΟΟΛΕQ ῆΤΕΠ[ΟΥ-  
ΜΙC ΑΥ]Ω ῆῚΤΟΚ ΜΕΝ ΑΥῆ[ΟΧΚ ΕΚΟΥ]  
ῆῆ ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩ[Τ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΩ]ΩQ  
[ΑΥῆ]ΟῚQ [ΕΚΟΥῆQ - - ]

ΠΟC, ΤΑΛΕ CΙΧ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΝΩΟΡῚ  
ΝῚΠΩQΝΕQ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC, ΜῆΝCΩC 20  
ΜΠΡΕCΒῚΤΕΡΟC, ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΕQΤΗΩ  
ΖΩΩQ ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑῚῚ  
ΖΙΩΩQ ΝΤΕQῚΤΗΝ ΑΥCΟΟΛῆ ῆΤΕ-  
ΠΟΥΜΙC. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΑῚ-  
ΝΟΧῚ ΕΚΟΥΩῆ ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ, ΠΕΚCΟΝ 25  
ΖΩΩQ ΝΤΑῚΝΟΧῆ ΕΚΟΥῆ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ  
ΜῆΝCΑ ΤΡῚΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ, ῆῚΤΟQ ΠΕΤ-  
ΝΑΖΜΟΟC ΕΠΕΚΜΑ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡῆ-  
CΟΤ[ΜΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤῆ ΜΠ]ΑΡΧΗΠΙC-

30b ΚΟΠ'Ο'C [ - - - ]. {ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ} | ΑΥΩ Τ[ΑΙ Τ]Ε ΘΕ ΝΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῆ. 30

70. ΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΝΑΛΕ ΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝCΚΑΦΟC ΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΜΑ ΕΩΑῚ-  
ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ CΧΙCCA ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΧΟΙ ΜΟΟΝΕ Ζῆ ΠΜΑ ΕΤῆ-  
ΜΑΥ. ΑΝΜΩΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΖΕ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΕQΝΑΡ ΖΩΤ ΕΑΝῚΝΩΟΥ ΤΠ'Ο'ΛΙC,  
ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΥΤΑΛΕ CΟΥΟ Ζῆ ΝΤΩQ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΤΩQ

2 read ΖΙΟΥΕ 4 read ΕΧῆ 5 ΕΡΟΚ ms. 26 ΕΚΟΥῆ: ΕΚΟΥῆ ms. B 34 ΝΑΤΩQ: read  
ΝΑΤΩQ



68. Now then, my son Mark, I have told you these things on account of the people about which you spoke to me. For it is far more profitable to force yourself out of love than to be forced because there is no love in your heart, since 'love covers a multitude of sins' (1 Pet. 4:8). As regards this people, they will inevitably come to believe in God after a while. That is why I have said all these things to you, for I found them to be like a grape in the cluster, as Isaiah said: 'Do not destroy it, for there is a blessing of the Lord in it' (Isa. 65:8)".

### The Ordination of Mark and Return Journey

69. Now it happened that when the holy Archbishop Apa Athanasius had said these things he told his deacon, "Make preparations for the Eucharist, for we are going to ordain the bishop". Thus he rose, took the hand of Mark, led him into the church, while the entire multitude accompanied him, and ordained him. He came out, went to the place where he stayed and said to the deacon, "Lay a table so that we can eat some bread with each other". And thus we became worthy of receiving the blessing of his holy Fatherhood. We spent three days with him under these conditions. On the fourth day, he gave us the letter of episcopal appointment and dismissed us. When we went out the door, he sent the deacon to Bishop Apa Mark and he took him to him. And he said to him, "When you go south to your place, consecrate your brother and ordain

him first deacon, then priest. For he too is destined for a dispensation, since he was dressed in the tunic and covered with the stole. And, indeed, you were laid down in the lap of your father, but your brother was also laid down in his lap. Therefore, after your perfection (in death), he will sit in your place". When he heard these things from the archbishop, [...]. And thus we left him.

Or. 7558 (93) r<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iii)

place, consecrate your brother first and make him priest. For he too is destined for a dispensation, since he was dressed in the tunic and covered with the stole. And, indeed, you were laid down in the lap of your father, but your brother was also laid down in his lap [...]

70. We headed for Alexandria, went on board a small boat and arrived at a place called Schissa. And there were a large number of boats moored at that place. We visited them all but did not find one that would sail to Antinoopolis, since they loaded (ships) with wheat in those districts and God was going

ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΣ. ΝΤΕΡΝΡ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΖ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΜΗ  
ΝΕСΝΗΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΖΕ ΕΥΧΟΙ ΖΝ ΝΕΙΕΧΗΥ

Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iv)

[ΤΟΥ; ΠΕΧΕ] ΠΕΠΙСК[ΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΥ ---]  
.. [ --- ΤΗΝΟΟ]Υ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΥ[ΚΑΙΡΙΑ  
Ν]ΤΝΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΝΗΙ Ζ[Ν ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝ]Η.

71. ΖΝ ΤΕΪΟΥΩΗ [ΔΕ ΕΤΝΗΥ Α]Υ-  
ΧΟΙ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΕΥ[ΗΠ ΕΤΠΟΛΙ]С СΟΥΑΑΝ,  
ΟΥΗ[Α .....] .. ΕΤΕ . [ΠΟΛΙС. ΠΑΙ ..  
...] .... ΗΠ .. [ --- ]

ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΝΤΟΥ; ΠΕΧΕ  
ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΖΡΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ-  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ 5  
ΝΤΗΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΝΗΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ.

71. ΖΝ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΑΥΧΟΙ  
ΜΟΟΝΕ ΕΦΗΠ ΕΤΠΟΛΙС СΟΥΑΝ, ΟΥΜΑ  
ΝΩΟΥΗΝΥ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΠΟΛΙС. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ  
ΝΕΑΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΦΑΥΕΙΝ ΕΖΗΤ ΩΑ ΤΠΟ- 10  
ΛΙС [ΕΩΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟС ΧΕ ΝΕ]ΠΙΧ,  
[ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ СХИССА. ΠΕΙΧΟΙ ΔΕ

- 31a ΑΥ][ΚΟΟΒΕΥ ΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥΑΛΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΖΙΟΟΜΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΩΗ(ΡΕ) ΑΥΩ  
ΤΕΥΑΠΟСКЕΥΗ ΤΗΡС ΜΗ ΝΕΥΖΗΑΛ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ. ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΩΩΠΕ  
ΑΥΩΩΩΤ ΝΟΙ ΝΕСНΗΥ ΕΤΜΟΟΩΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΙСΚΟΠΟС ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΟΙ 15  
ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ. ΑΦΒΩΚ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΑ ΝΝΕ-  
СНΗΥ ΑΦΩΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΠΝΕΕΥ ΜΠΧΟΙ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΩΤΑΛΟΝ ΜΗΜΗΤΗ  
ΕΤΕΤΗΒΗΚ ΕРНС; ΠΕΧΕ ΠΝΕΕΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΗ ΖΕΝΡΗΤΩΝ; ΧΕ ΨΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΚ-  
ΑСПЕ ΕСТΗΤΩΝ ΕΤΩΝ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΕННП ЕΠΙΛΑК. ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ  
ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΤΩΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ Н [Ν]ΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΖΩΒ; ΑΦΑΡΧΕΙ Ν[ΩΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ 20  
31b ΕΦΧΩ Μ]ΜΟС ΧΕ ΝΤΑΝ[ΕΙ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΝΕΠΙСΚΟ]ΠΟС [ --- ]Ν Η[ --- ]. |  
ΑΦΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΦΖΜΟОС ΖΙРΗ ПРО НТЕККЛНСІА, ΑΦΠΑΖΤΩ ΑΦΟΥΩΩΤ ΖΑ ΝΕΦΟΥ-  
РΗНТЕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΙΜΠΩΑ ΝΟΥΝΟС НЗМОТ ΜΠООΥ, ΠΑΕΙΩТ ΕΤΟΥΑΑВ.  
ΑΥΩ ΑΦΩΑΧΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΤΑΥΟ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΕΕΥΕ ΠΕΥΧΟΙ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΙСΚΟ-  
ΠОС ΝΑΥ ΧΕ СЕНАКАДΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠООΥ, ΕΩΩΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ. ΑΠΝΕΕΥ 25  
ΔΕ ΠΩТ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΧΟΙ ΑΦΤΑΥΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΩΒΗΡΝΕΕΥ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ  
ΟΗ. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΥΠΩТ ΕΖРАΙ ΕТЕККЛЕСІА ΕΤРЕΥΧІ СМОУ ΝΤООТΩ ΜΠЕ-  
ПІСКОПОС. ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΗΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤРЕУКА ΠΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΖΗКЕ ΝСΕТАЛОУ  
ЕРНС. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΝТАККЕЛЕУЕ ММОС, ΠΕΝΕΙΩТ ΕΤΟΥΑΑВ, СНА-  
ΩΩΠЕ. ΑΥΩ ТАΙ ТЕ ΘΕ ΝТАУЕІ ЕР[НС] ΖН ОУНОС Н[ΕΙРΗНН --- ] ΑΠΟΥС . [ --- 30  
32a ΖΙТН ТВО][НӨІА МПЕХ(РІСТ)С ΝΕРЕ ПТНУ СΩК ММОΟΥ ΖН КОТС НІМ ΩΑΝ-  
ТОУКАТАНТА ΕΤΕΥΠΟΛΙС.

9 ετεφπολιс ms. B 19 ητοу: q corr. < c 20 [η]ткеі Budge 24 нтауо ms. || read  
нтаукееве 30 нтүхеі (?) Budge 31 ммон ms.

to provide a good opportunity for us. After we spent a few days in that place with the brothers and the bishop, while they said, "Why did we not find a single boat among all these boats that will go to our district?", the bishop said to them, "Be patient; God will send us the opportunity and we shall go to our homes in peace".

71. In the following night a ship docked that hailed from the city of Aswan, a place not far from our city. It had carried its cargo north to the city called Neprij, that is, Schissa. This ship, however, was req-

uisioned by some magistrates. They went on board with their wives and children, all their luggage and their servants to go to Alexandria. When it became morning, the brothers who accompanied the bishop looked and when they saw the ship, they realized that it had docked that night. Immediately one of the brothers went and spoke with the captain of the ship, saying, "Will you not be able to take us on board with you, when you are on your way to the south?" The captain said to him, "Where are you from? For I see that your speech resembles ours". And he said, "We are from Philae". And he said to him, "On your way to which destination have you come here and for what business?". He began to tell him, saying, "We have come to Alexandria because of our bishop" [...]. He found him sitting at the door of the church. He fell down in reverence at his feet and said, "I have become worthy of a great grace today, my holy father". And he spoke and told him how they had requisitioned his ship. The bishop said to him, "They will release it today, if it is God's will". The captain hurried away to his ship and explained the matter to the magistrates and his fellow sailors. They too hastened to the church to receive a blessing from the bishop. He asked the magistrates to release the ship to the poor, so that they could board it (to go) south. And they said, "It will happen as you have commanded, our holy father". And thus they went south in great peace. [...] With the help of Christ, the wind wafted them along through all the bends (of the river) until they reached their city.

Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iv)

district?", the bishop said to them, "[...] send us the opportunity and we shall go to our homes in peace."

71. In that following night a ship docked that hailed from the city of Aswan, a place [...] city. It [...]

72. ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΠΕΥΗΙ, ΔΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΗΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΕΠΙΣΚΟ-  
ΠΟΣ. ΑΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΡΕΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕΤΑΛΟΦ ΝΣΕΧΙΤῆ ΕΤΕΦΠΟΛΙΣ.  
ΝΤΕΡΟΥΣΩΤῆ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΛΑΟΣ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤῆ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ζῆ ΖΕΝΨΑΛΜΟΣ Μῆ ΖΕΝ-  
ΖΥΜΝΟΣ· ΑΥΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΘΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΣΕΘῆΣΟΦ  
ΖΙΧῆ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΑΦ† ΝΑΥ ΝΤΣΥΣΤΑΔΙΚΗ ΝΤΜῆΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ. ΑΦΧΙΤῆ 5  
ΝΒΙ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΕΠΛΑΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῆ ΔΕ ΣΕΦΩΟΠ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ-  
ΜΟΣ, ΑΦΩΩΣ ΕΠΛΑΟΣ [Α]ΥΩ ΑΦΤΡΕΥΦΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟ[ΡΑ] ΑΦΣΥΝΑΓΕ  
ΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ζῆ ΝΕΦΣΙΧ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΘΑ ΠΕΥΝΟΒ. ΑΦΡ ΘΩΜΗΤ ΝΡΟΟΥ Ζῆ  
ΤΕΚΚΛΕΣΙΑ [Ε]ΦΚΑΘΗΓΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ Ζῆ ΠΩΔΧΕ ΜΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ] Μῆ ΝΚΑΝΩ[Ν ΝΤΕΚ-  
32b ΚΛΗΣΙΑ. - - - ] | ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΡΕΝΜῆΤΝΑ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ 10  
ΜΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ.
73. ΜῆΝΣΑ ΖΕΝΖΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΦΩΩΠΕ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΩΔ. ΑΠΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡῆ ΠΑΡΑ-  
ΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΗ'Ο'Φ ΕΤΡῆΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΝῆΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ Ζῆ ΠΤΡΕΥΦΙ  
ΜΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΠΕΦΣΟΝ ΑΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΑΦΧΙ-  
ΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΜΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤῆ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΧΗΕ- 15  
ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΜΠΛΑΟΣ ΑΦΣΜΟΥ  
ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΦΚΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ.
74. ΜῆΝΣΩΣ ΝΤΕΡῆΡ ΖΕΝΖΟΟΥ ΕΦΜΟΟΝΕ ΜΠΕΦΛΑΟΣ Ζῆ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ,  
ΑΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΚΑ ΒΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ. ΑΦΜΟΥΤ[Ε] ΕΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΠΕΦΣΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΣΩΤῆ  
ΝΤΑΤΑΜΟΚ. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ Α[ΘΑΝΑ- 20  
ΣΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΝΑ]ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤῆ Ε†ΛΙ†[ΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ - - - ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ-  
33a ΡΕΦ][ΧΟΟΥ ΑΦΩΤΟ ΕΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΣΟΥ ΜΗΤ ΝΤΩΒΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΗΤΟΝ 25  
Μ[ΜΟΦ] ΝΣΟΥ ΜῆΤΑΦΤΕ ΜΠΕΙΕΒΟΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΤΑΜΕ ΠΛΑΟΣ ΔΥΕΙ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ ΕΡ'Ο'Φ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ  
ΝΔΑΓΑΘΟΣ {ΠΕ}. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΟΜῆ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΑΖΤῆ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΕ-  
ΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ.
75. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΑΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΥΧΙΤῆ  
ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ Ζῆ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΠΘΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΤΑΖΟΦ  
ΕΡΑΤῆ ΝΩΩΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΠΜΑ ΜΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΦΣΟΝ. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥ-  
ΣΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΖΑΡΟΦ ΑΥΤΑΔΦ ΝΡΕΝΣΗΝῆ ΜῆΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΕΧΙΤῆ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ 30  
ΝΣΕΧΕΙ[Ρ]ΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ [Ε]ΠΧΟΙ ΑΥΑΛΕ ΑΥΣΩΗΡ ΕΖΗΤ  
ΑΥΩ Ζῆ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑ†[Ε ΖΕΝΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ] ΑΥΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΠ[ΟΛΙΣ

5 ΝΤΣΥΣΤΑΔΙΚΗ Budge 17 ΑΦΚΑΔΥ ms. 30 ΜΠΕΨΙC'ΦΙC'ΝΑ ms.

### The Episcopate of Mark

72. When they arrived south at their homes, they showed great kindness to the bishop. They ordered animals for him so that they could mount him and take him to his city. When the people heard about this, they all went out to meet him with psalms and hymns. They sang before him until they brought him into the church and seated him upon the throne. And he gave them the letter of episcopal appointment. The deacon who had said to the people about him, "The heirs are present", took it and read it to the people. He (Mark) had preparations made for the Eucharist and administered Communion to all of them with his own hands, from the youngest to the oldest. He spent three days in the church instructing them in the word of God and the canons of the Church. [...] performing many acts of charity, while he kept all the commandments of his holy father Bishop Apa Macedonius.

73. After a few days a major festival took place. All the people entreated him to come to the city and administer them Communion. And as they were making preparations for the Eucharist, he called Isaiah his brother, took him and ordained him priest as Archbishop Apa Athanasius had ordered him. And thus he administered Communion to the people, blessed them and sent them away in peace.

74. Later, when he had spent some time shepherding his people in the fear of God, his body lost strength. He called Isaiah his brother and said, "Listen to what I shall tell you. Since the holy Archbishop Apa Athanasius said that I should entrust you with this ministry of the episcopate [...]. After he had said these things, he succumbed to the illness on the tenth of Tobe (5 January) and thus he went to rest on the fourteenth of that same month (9 January). And when the people were informed, they came and shrouded his body, all weeping over him, for he was a good man. And thus he was buried beside the body of Bishop Apa Macedonius.

### The Episcopate of Isaiah

75. Immediately they seized Isaiah the priest and took him to the city on that same day. They all persuaded him to let them appoint him shepherd over them in place of his brother Mark. Thus they wrote the nomination for him and gave it to some pious brothers so that they could take him to Alexandria and have him ordained. Right away he went to the boat. They boarded, sailed north and, by the will of God, before some days had passed, they reached the

33b ρακοτε - - - πρωμε δε] | [π]εχαq ναγ δε qннγ нпооγ· αγω †ξογι нек-  
κlesia ετετῆναγ ерос еqωanei ωαqωωκ ερογн ерос нqсγнаγε нпооγ  
нзнтc̄.

76. ε† δε еγωαδε нῆ πρωμε, εις παρχνεπισκοπος αqει еγῆλλει  
затеqзн. αγ† мπεγογoi αγπαзтоγ αγογωω† зароq мпархнеπισκοπος. 5  
нтоq δε αqтоγнoсoγ еqαω ммос δε τωoγн εзpai, наωнpe. нтооγ δε  
αγτωoγн εзpai αγχι cмоγ нтоотq̄ αγ† наq мπε†нφисма нтнῆтепско-  
πος αγнoоωe нῆмаq ερογн етекκλнcia, αqзмоос. нтерq̄ωω δε мπε†γ-  
φисма αqκελεеу етреγqi мпрооγω нтепpосфopα. αqτωoγн αqαμαзте  
нῆcaиaс αqχитq̄ епcaнзoγн αqχipоλωnei ммоq неπισκοπος αqсγн[аге 10  
ммоq] зῆ неqбix етоγaав. нте[реqсγнаге δε αq]змоос αqтреγсзa[и  
нтcγcтaтикн нтнῆтепiscoпoc - - - ].

34a 77. αναλε αнкω εβολ αγω зῆ πογωω нῆпnoγte мпзoγн нзенкоγи  
нзооγ αнmoоne етποlic coγan. αqсωтῆ нῆι πλαос αγει εβολ етеqα-  
пантн αγω αγῆλλει затеqзн αγχитq̄ ερογн етекκlesia αγθpомiaze 15  
ммоq αγω αq† наγ ннесзai мпархнеπισκοπος. αγoωoγ αγω н†ze  
αqκααγ εβολ зῆ oγeipннн. мῆнca ωонῆт δε нзооγ еqзῆ текκlesia αqει  
εβολ αqαnaαωpei еπεqма нωωπε αγω неqωωκ етποlic eимнтеи oγнoс̄  
нзооγ нqα αγω зи nai on неqape пеклнpoc ei нῆ неκлнpикoc мῆ нnoс̄  
мπλαос нceπαρακαλει ммоq ωантеqоγaзq̄ нcωoγ. 20

78. нтоq δε пмакаpиoc αпа нcaиaс ne oγpωme пе enanoγq мпpocопon  
αγω [не oγ]αгапнтoc пе ммаaте. nepe нpῆмаo [ - - - ] етpq̄ [ - - - нtepe  
34b πлаос cωтн] | αγει εβολ αγскеπαze мπεqλγῆan'о'н етτaиγ αγω неγ-  
незпе epоq тнpoγ εβολ δε oγpωme пе нагаθoc емаaте. нtepoγкocq̄ on  
κατα пeqнпωa агтomсq̄ зазтῆ неqωωнp λγтоγpгoc етоγaав ммака- 25  
pиoc, ете αпа μακεδωнic пе мῆ αпа μαpкoc. αγω таи те oe нта πογa  
πογa αnaαωpei еπεqма нωωπε.

79. αтποlic p̄ зензооγ ескн ев[ол] натепiscoпoc. енеqωooп δε on зῆ  
†ннcoс нῆи oγнoнoxoc еπεqpan пе пcoγλoγcia еγp нῆтpe за неqпpa-  
зic нῆи oγон ннм етcooγн мн'о'[q], пai нта пeneиωт αпа заpωн p̄ теq- 30  
нῆтнoнoxoc зῆ теqнῆтепiscoп'о'с. пnoγte δε αqтаaс epзнт мπλαос  
етреγωиne нcωq. αγει εβολ е†ннcoс нῆи пеклнpoc мῆ πлаос αγωa[δε]  
35a нῆи[αq - - - пexαq наγ δε нтатетнеи εβολ enaγ e]|ннм; αноκ γap  
ανῆ oγзидiωтнc, н†cooγн an нтаoγnam нῆ тазboγp. нtepoγp oγнoс̄  
δε напpнтe еγπαpακαλει ммоq αγω мπεqпῆe наγ, αγχитq̄ δε нxназ 35

7 мπε†исφисма ms. 32-33 αγω[ . . ]нῆ[ Budge 34 нtepoγp: o corr. < e

city of Alexandria. [...] The man said to them, "He is coming today and when he comes, he will go inside that small church that you see and celebrate the Eucharist there today".

76. As they were still talking with the man, there the archbishop arrived with people singing before him. They approached, fell down and paid homage to the archbishop. But he raised them up, saying, "Rise, my children". They got up, received his blessing and gave him the nomination for the episcopate. They accompanied him to the church and he sat down. When he had read the nomination, he ordered that preparations be made for the Eucharist. He rose, took Isaiah and led him inside. He ordained him bishop and administered him Communion with his holy hands. After he had celebrated the Eucharist, he sat down and had the letter of episcopal appointment written. [...]

77. We boarded and set sail. And by the will of God we landed in the city of Aswan within a few days. The people heard about it and came to meet him (Isaiah). They sang before him, took him into the church and enthroned him. And he gave them the letter of the archbishop. They read it out and thus he let them go in peace. After spending three days in the church, he left and withdrew to his dwelling. And he did not go to the city except on a major festival day. Even then the clergy had to come with (all) the clergymen and the notables of the people to plead with him until he followed them.

78. The blessed Apa Isaiah was a man of good character and greatly loved. The rich [...] in order that he [...]. When the people heard (about his death), they came and shrouded his venerable remains. And they all mourned him, for he was a very good man. After they had prepared him for burial as befitted his dignity, they buried him next to his blessed holy fellow ministers, Apa Macedonius and Apa Mark. And thus each withdrew to his home.

### The Episcopate of Psoulousia

79. For some days, the city was deprived of a bishop. Now there also lived on this island a monk whose name was Psoulousia, and everyone who knew him testified to his works. (It was in his episcopate that our father Apa Aaron led his monastic life.) God put it into the hearts of the people to seek him out. The clergy and the people came to this island and spoke with him [...]. He said to them, "Whom have you gone out to see? (cf. Matt. 11:7–9; Luke 7:24–26). For I am an ignorant man and I do not know my right hand from my left". When they had spent a long time entreating him and he did not give in to them, they seized him by force, embarked him and took him to

αἰτᾶλοϋ ἀχχίτῃ ἐροϋ(ν) ἐτπολῖς. ἀγσζαι μπεϋγφῖςμα ζαροϋ ἀγτῆνοοϋ  
 νῆμαϋ ἡζενκεσνῆϋ μῆαινοϋτε εαγζων ἐτοοτοϋ ἐτρεϋροεῖς ἐροϋ ϧαν-  
 τοϋχίτῃ ἐρακοτε νσεχειροδονεῖ μμοϋ.

80. ντοοϋ δε ἡτεροϋπωρ ἐτῆρω νςχῖςσα ἀγαλε εϋκοϋῖ νςκαφος ϧαν-  
 τοϋβωκ ἐροϋν ἐτπολῖς. ντεροϋπωρ δε ἐππειλων ἀγζε εϋσον, ἀπ- 5  
 πακαλει μμοϋ ἐτρῆταμοοϋ ἐπμα ἐτερε παρхнеπισкопос νζητῆ. ντοϋ  
 δε παρхнеπισкопос ἐνεϋρῆμ'ο'ος ἡρζοϋν ἡππῆλων ἐϋσϋντεχει [μν  
 35b ε]πισкопос сναγ' οὔα ντε ἀϋριβε, [πκε οὔα δε πεπ]ῆροϋος ἡῆ.χ.α.α.χ.  
 αϋ[ - - - ] | ἀπα σελλοϋςια. πεχ.αϋ ναϋ ρῆ οϋςμῆ ἐςμερ νραϋε δε μῆμῆνε,  
 ω πῆονοχος, κῶροο ρῆ οϋῆῆτατρροϋϋ. ἡποοϋ κῆαϋ ροοϋϧ ντῆρζε 10  
 ζωων.

81. ναι δε ἡτερῆχ.οοϋ ν61 παρхнеπισкопос ἀϋτωοϋν ἀϋχίτῆ ἐροϋν  
 ἐτεκκλῆςια. ἀϋτρεϋϋῖ προοϋϧ ντεпросфора μῆ πεϋςιαςτηριον,  
 ἀϋϧλ'ῆλ ἐχ.ωϋ ἀϋποϧῆῖ ναναγνωστῆς· εῖτα ἀϋποϧῆῖ ν.δ.ιακονος,  
 εῖτα ἀϋααϋ ἡпресвѣтерос' ζωμ.α.ι.ο.ς ἀϋχιροδονεῖ μμοϋ νепископос. 15  
 ἀϋκα.α.ν. ε.β.ο.λ. ἐϋχ.ω. μ.μ.ο.ς. δε β.ω.κ. ρῆ οϋεῖρῆνῆ. ἀνεῖ δε ε.β.ο.λ. ρῖτοοτῆ  
 ἀνῆ ϫωβῶ ἡтсѹста.δ.ικ.η. νтῆῆтеπισкопос. ἀνκτον ϧαροϋ ἀνπα.α.κα-  
 λει μμοϋ ἐтвῆнтῆ. ντοϋ δε ἀϋκελεϋε ἡπεϋ.δ.ιακονος ἀϋεκλαβε μμοϋ  
 36a ἡтоотῆ ἀϋс.α.ρ.ζ[тῆ - - - ]ῆ[ - - - ] | [ . . . . . ]. νζωβ νῖμ ντε тῆῆтеπισкопос  
 νтастаζοῖ πα.α.μ.π.ω.α., ἐϋχ.ω. μ.μ.ο.ς. δε αῖναϋ ἐροκ νтаγ.β.ο.ο.λῆ. νοϋ- 20  
 στολῆ ἀϋω ἀϋτ' νζενϧοϧῶτ' ἐρζαι ἐνεκ.ς.ι.χ.

82. ἀςϧωπε δε ἡῆν.ς.α. τῆρεῖ ἐρῆς ἀϋβ.ω.κ. νϧορῆ ν61 πεπισкопос ε-  
 πεϋτοπος ἐτῆν τῆν.ς.ο.ς, ντοϋ μῆ νετῆῆμαϋ. ἀϋρ.μ.ο.ο.ς. ρῆ π.μ.α. ἐтῆμαϋ  
 ε.β.ο.λ. δε οϋρ.ω.μ.ε. πε ἐϋοϋεϧ тесѹχ.ια. μῆα.α.τε. π.λ.α.ο.ς. δε ντερῆς.ω.тῆ  
 ἀϋῆ ρ.β.α. ἀϋω ἀγαλε ἐζεν.ς.κα.φο.ς. ἀϋεῖ ε.β.ο.λ. ἐтῆν.ς.ο.ς. ἀϋω ντεροϋ.χ.ι.ς.μ.οϋ 25  
 δε ἡтоотῆ ἀχ.χ.νοϋϋ ἐт.βε. тῆῆтеπισкопос. ἀν.ε.ς.ν.ῆϋ. ἐтῆο.ω.ϋ.ε. νῆμαϋ  
 та.μ.ο.οϋ. δε ἀϋχιροδονεῖ μμοϋ. πε.χ.ε. π.λ.α.ο.ς. ναϋ δε ἐт.βε. οϋ ἡπε.κει.  
 ἐροϋν ἐтῆ.πο.λῖς, ω πε.ν.ε.ι.ω.т, νϋε ἡнеπισкопос тῆροϋ. ντοϋ δε πε.χ.αϋ  
 δε π.ι.ς.τε.ϋ.ε. ν.αι, ω να.ϧ.ῆ.ρ.ε, δε ἡта.ε.п.ϋ.ϋ.ν.εῖ. ε.πα.κοϋῖ μῆα νϧω.πε. ἐт.ра-  
 ναϋ ἐροϋ νϧορῆ. ἀϋ.ε.ν.тῆ. δε ε.β.ο.λ. ἀγ.τα.λοϋ εϋκοϋῖ ἡς.κα.φο.ς. ἀγ.τ.α.λλ.εῖ 30  
 ρ.α.τε.ϋ.ρ.η. ϧαν.τοϋ.χ.ι.тῆ. ἐροϋν ἐτεκκ.λ.ε.ς.ια. ν.ς.ε.ϋ.ῆ.ς.οϋ. ε.χ.ῆ. πεϋ.ρο.ν.ο.ς. κα.та.  
 т.с.ῆ.ν.ῆ.ο.ι.α'. ἀϋω τ.αι. τε. ϋε νта.ϋ.ς.ῆ.ν.α.γ.ε. μ.μ.ο.οϋ. тῆ.ροϋ. αϋ[κ]α.αϋ ε.β.ο.λ. ρῆ  
 36b οϋεῖρῆνῆ. πεπισкопос δε [α]па п.с.ῆ.λοϋ.ς.ια. ἀϋβ.ω.κ. ἐρζαι ἐτεκκλῆςια |  
 αϋρ ἡν.та.ς.ε. ἡρ.ο.οϋ. εϋ.κ.α.[ϋ.η.γ.εῖ. μ.π.λ.α.]ο.ς. ρῆ ν.λο.γ.ο.ς. ἡπ.ποϋ.τε. ε.α.ϋ.ρ.[ω]ῆ  
 ἐтоοτοϋ ἐтρεϋ.ρ.α.ρ.ε.ρ. ἐп.тῆ.β.ο.ο. ἀϋω та.γ.α.πῆ. ἐροϋν ἐνεϋ.ε.ρ.ῆϋ. μῆ.ν.ς.ω.ς. δε 35  
 οῆν ἀϋ.κο.тῆ. ἐροϋν ἐπεϋ.μ.α. ἡϧω.πε.

24 тесѹχ.ια: x corr. < c 26 ἀγ.τα.μ.οϋ ms. 29 ἡт.ε.п.ϋ.ϋ.ν.εῖ ms.



the city. They wrote the nomination for him and sent some pious brothers with him, who were ordered to watch over him until they had brought him to Alexandria and had him ordained.

80. When they reached the harbour of Schissa, they boarded a small boat (and sailed) until they arrived in the city. When they reached the Gateway, they found a brother and asked him to tell them the place where the archbishop was. The archbishop was sitting within the Gateway, as he was having a conversation with two bishops, one from Athribis and the other the bishop of Njaaj (?). He [...] Apa Psoulousia. He told him in a voice full of joy, "Monk, every day you enjoy a life free from care. Today, you will take on cares similar to ours".

81. After the archbishop had said this, he rose and took us into the church. He ordered to make preparations for the Eucharist and set the altar in order. He prayed over him and ordained him as a reader; then he ordained him deacon and then he made him priest; in a similar manner he consecrated him bishop. He dismissed us, saying, "Go in peace". We left him and forgot the letter of episcopal appointment. We returned to him and asked him for it. He ordered his deacon, who took (the text) down from him and wrote it. [...] everything of the episcopal office that has fallen to me beyond my worth", saying, "I saw you and you were clothed with a garment and keys were placed in your hands'.

82. It happened after returning south that the bishop first went to his cell on the island, together with those who had accompanied him. He remained there for he was a man who greatly loved solitude. But when the people heard this, they were upset, boarded boats and went to the island. After they received his blessing, they asked him about the episcopate. The brothers who had accompanied him told them that he had been ordained. The people told him, "Our father, why have you not entered our city, as all bishops did?" He said, "Believe me, my children, I longed to see my small dwelling first". They brought him out, embarked him on a small boat and sang before him until they took him into the church and seated him upon the throne according to custom. And thus he administered Communion to them all and dismissed them in peace. Bishop Psoulousia went to the church and spent sixteen days instructing the people in the words of God, commanding them to maintain purity and love towards each other. Afterwards, he returned to his dwelling.

83. αςωωπε δε μῆνσα ναι αqнтон мм'ο'q νει απα †μοθεος, εαq-  
καθιστα ναπα θεοφιλος αγω ανεπισκοπος τηροу вωк еракоте етреу-  
проскύνει μμοq. αqвωк δε ζωωq ῆνι ππετοуаав απα псγλoυcιa.  
ντεροуκαtанта δε етποlic αγze επархнепископос eqнzoуn нтекκλη-  
cиa, εуcωoуz epоq ῆνι пеклнр'ο'с αγω πλαос τηрῷ, ene ὅτωmac  
τε мпсавбатон eqαγβαпtze ῆзнтῷ. ντεροуμοуz δε нтколүмвнѠра  
ῆмооу апархнепископос вωк epоуn мῆ пкесеепe непископос, αγωλнλ  
exῆ πпорδανнс. απα пceλλoυcиa δε ζωωq eneααzeραaтῷ зipῆ про  
ῆпβαпtctнpиoн eqoуe μmoq noуkoγi, мпeqвωк epоуn eмаγ eqωп μmoq  
натῆѠа.

10

37a 84. αγтῶс пархнепископос δε етвннтῷ зῆ пeπн(eyм)а, αqoуeзcaз-  
не exитῷ epоy(n) αγω пexαq наq ze етве oу мпekeи | [етекκλη]cиa  
етрῷλнλ нῆman; нтoq δε пexαq мпархieпископос ze кω нαι ebол,  
пaειωт етoуaав, aнῑ oуpωme eqбoхῶ. αγω ῆтeуnoу нтаqпωpῷ ῆнеq-  
cиx ebол αqωλнλ нῆмаγ зi oуcoп, acвῑpῶр нeи тколүмвнѠра нѠe noу-  
халхиoн eycaзte зapoq. пархнепископос δε мῆ пкесе(ene) ннеписко-  
пос τηροу ντεροунаγ етеωпнpe нтаcωωπε, αγt epоoу мпnoуte мῆ  
ππεтoуaав непископос απα пceλoυcиaс етве пeqтῶbo. нтерῷoуω δε  
eqβαпtze нeи пархнепископос αqcyнагe μmoоу αqкаaγ ebол· aneπи-  
cкoпoc бω зазтнq мпeзooу етῆмаγ. мпeqpacte δε αqаποlei μmoоу  
етpe пoγa пoγa вωк етeqпolic.

15

37b 85. ππεтoуaав δε ζωωq απα пceλoυcиaс αqбω eq'с'opaзт зῆ птo-  
пoc eneqнзнтῷ нѠopῑ мпateqῑ epиcкoпoc Ѡa пeзooу нтаqxωк ebол  
нзнтῷ. eneαqхтo δε epωωne xиn coу xoуωт мпaωne· мῆнcωс αqн-  
тон μmoq ῆcoу xoутѠomte мпeиebот ῆoуωт. αγeи δε ebол нeи пеклн-  
poc τηрῷ мῆ πλαос αyскепaze мпeqcωma | еттаиnу αγтωmῑ μmoq [зн  
пeqкoi]мгтнpиoн еттаиnу мμин мῆ[oq.]

25

86. тeпoу бe, пacoн пaпnoуte, eпeиdн акxнoγi етве зeнkoγi, eиc  
зннтe aиtaмoк етве непископос нтаγωωпе зῆ пilaк нѠe нта пaειωт  
аπα зapω(n) тaмoи ζωωт. aneqeиote δε зoоy † нзeнxpнma αyctpa-  
тeγe μmoq ζωωq αγω нῷxи ῆcaѠqe ῆaннѠнна ῆμнннe, eneмeqoγeи  
лаaγ ῆзнтoу aλλa нῷt μmoоу етῆтoлн. eneα neqeиote oγωѠ exи зpимe  
наq, нтoq δε мпeqoуωѠ aλλa αqзapeз eпeqcωma зῆ oγmῆтпapѠeнoc  
xиn пeqxпo Ѡa пeqxωк ebол.

30

6 ῆзнтῑ ms. 19 αqкаaγ ms. 28 актаmои ms. 31 ῆῆнннe ms.

83. It happened after these things that Apa Timothy went to rest, after having appointed Apa Theophilus. All the bishops went to Alexandria to pay homage to him and the holy Apa Psoulousia also went. When they arrived in the city, they found the archbishop in the church with the clergy and the entire people gathered around him, as it was the week of the Saturday on which baptism was administered. When the font had been filled with water, the archbishop went inside together with the other bishops and they prayed over the Jordan. However, Apa Psoulousia was standing by the door of the baptistry, at some distance away. He did not go inside, because he considered himself unworthy.

84. The archbishop, however, was warned about him by the Spirit. He ordered to bring him in and said to him, "Why have you not come into the church to pray with us?" He said to the archbishop, "Forgive me, my holy father, I am a humble man". And immediately when he stretched out his hands and prayed with them, the font began to boil like a cauldron beneath which a fire is lit. When the archbishop and all the other bishops saw the miracle that had happened, they praised God and the holy Bishop Apa Psoulousia because of his purity. After the archbishop had finished baptizing, he administered them Communion and dismissed them. The bishops stayed with him that day, but the next day he sent them away in order that each might go to his city.

85. The holy Apa Psoulousia remained in solitude in the cell where he lived first, before he became bishop, until the day when he reached perfection (in death). After he had succumbed to illness on the twentieth of Paone (14 June), he subsequently went to rest on the twenty-third of that same month (17 June). The entire clergy and the people came and shrouded his venerable body. They buried him in his own venerable burial place.

### The Early Life of Aaron

86. Now then, my brother Paphnutius, since you have asked me for some information, I have told you about the bishops who were in Philae, just as my father Apa Aaron told it to me. As for him, his parents paid money and enlisted him in the army. He received seven rations a day, but he did not eat any of them and instead gave them to charity. His parents wanted to find a wife for him, but he refused and instead kept his virginity from his birth until his perfection (in death).

87. ἀσφωπε δε νογχοογ αὐτῆνοογ ἡρενσζαι ενα πῆρο νε δεκας εὔνα-  
 χιτοῦ ἐκεπολις. ἀπορᾶινον δε ναπα ζαρων ταζοφ ἐτρῆχιτοῦ νῆβωκ  
 νῆμαγ. ἡτερῆει δε εβολ ζῆ τπολις αἰμογί τωμῆτ εροφ ζι τεζην μπναγ  
 νρογζε εφογωφ εζαρπαζε нмоу: αἰω πεχαφ нσῖ πλικαῖος δε ἡτε-  
 ριῖ πμεεγ[ε] μπωαδε нта πεпрофнтнс да(γῖ)д χοοφ δε πμογί мῆ 5  
 38a тарз пекрῆζα[λ] ἀπατασσε нмоу, αἰφῖ ннаβαλ | [εζραι ετπε], πεχαι  
 δε παχοεῖς ι(нсоу)с пех(рiсto)с, [εκ]φ[αν]τ мπειθριον εζραι ενα-  
 σιχ, †наапотассе ἡна πανι τηρογ мῆ нагῖпархонта τηρογ αἰω ἡтар  
 φῆмо εнаειοτε мῆ наρωме τηρογ αἰω нтар φῆмо εна пeикoсmoс нта†  
 ζιδωτ мпесхнна ἡтмῆтmонохoс εтве пекран етоγaab. 10
88. πεχαφ δε нσῖ ππετογaab ἀπα ζαρων δε ἡтереῖχε ναῖ αἰсoвтῆ  
 εβολ μπκонтapιον ετῆν таβιχ αἰлогχιζε μπμογί αφμογ. αἰω нтеγ-  
 νογ мпeиктoι εтπολις нкесoп αλλα αἰβωκ ἐκεπολις ετῖ псарнс нμοι  
 нкeφomῆт нзооγ нмооφe. αἰ† [н] εβολ ἡπαρτο мῆ такамисе αἰω  
 на{т}сатвῆ мῆ наскеγн τηρογ εтῆтоот, αἰφωп ναῖ νογζβсω мпага- 15  
 nos. пкесепе δε διδiакoneῖ ἡмооγ ἡῆρηке εтῆн пма етῆмаγ. αἰβωκ  
 ептооγ нφинт αἰ† εχωι мпесхнна нмонохос ζῆ пма етῆмаγ. παλιν on  
 мπειεφсω ζῆ пма етῆмаγ εтве наеιοте δε ннеγ† oγoι нсωι. αἰмооφe  
 δε ернс κογῖ κογῖ φανταεῖ еπειтооγ тeноу.
- 38b 89. ναῖ δε нтаιχοογ | ерок, пасон παπпоγте, η[ταисотмоγ] нтоотῆ 20  
 мпαιωτ ἀπα ζαρφ[н н]терисῑсωпῆ εтῖχω ероῖ нтеφсῖ(н)αпо{с}тас-  
 се. мῆῆсωс on, екφaнφλ' н'λ εχωι, †наχω ерок ἡнeнтaйнаγ ерооγ ζῆ  
 наβαλ. ἀσφωπε δε нμοι, εἰо ἡφнре φнм ζῆ пнῖ ἡнаеιοτε, анаеιοτε  
 таат етанснве етρεγтсaвоῖ есζaῖ. пасаζ δε неφспоγdaze ероῖ мннне  
 φантеγтсaвоῖ есζaῖ ζῆ ρенсζaῖ εγoγaab. нтерεῖ еөн εχῆ тлeзic εтῆн 25  
 пeγaггeλion δε пeтe нῆнака еἰωт аη нсωφ н мааγ, мῆ пкесепе етннγ  
 мῆнса ναῖ, нῆоγaзῆ нсωι, нῆмпωa нμοι аη' анок δε αἰ† зтнῖ епeзрн-  
 тон αἰсω еимeлeтa нмоφ ζῆ παзнт тнрῆ.
90. ἀσφωπε δε мῆнса ρенχοογ αἰсωтῆ епсoεгт мпeneἰωт етоγaab  
 ἀπα ζαρων δε εφπολυтеγe ζῆ oγма εγμογте ероφ δε пeἰa, еφeἰpe νογ- 30  
 мннφe нтаλсo ἡнeтφωнe τηρογ. αἰтωoγн αἰβωк епма енеφῆзнтῆ  
 αἰзmoс зῖрῆ про мпeчма нφωпe φанте прн зωтῆ: ене πογωφ γap  
 39a пe пeзооγ | етῆмаγ. нтере роγзе φωпe мпeφeἰ, αἰтωoγн αἰмооφe ζῆ  
 птооγ на φomῆт ннiлion. мῆῆсωс αἰсωтῆ епeчт εχῆ пωo аἰнаγ

4–5 ἡτερῆр ms.  
 φανταεῖ Budge

11 read αἰсoоγтῆ  
 20 ерок: ε corr. < α?

17 мпесхнна: с corr. < ?  
 23 анаеioтe Budge

18 нсωφ ms. 19

87. Now it happened one day that an imperial letter was sent in order to be taken to another city. And it was the turn of Apa Aaron to take and dispatch it. When he left the city in the evening a lion met him on the road that wanted to seize him. And the righteous man said, "When I remembered the word spoken by the prophet David: 'Your servant has killed lions and bears' (1Sam. 17:36), I raised my eyes to heaven and said, 'My Lord Jesus Christ, if you deliver this wild beast into my hands (cf. 1Sam. 17:46), I shall renounce everything that belongs to my house and all my possessions, I shall become a stranger to my parents and all my men, I shall become a stranger to the things of this world and I shall clothe myself in the habit of monastic life for the sake of your holy name'".

88. And the holy Apa Aaron said, "When I had said these words, I stretched out the spear that was in my hand, drove it into the lion and it died. And at that moment I did not return to the city anymore but I went to another city, a further three days' journey south of me. I sold my horse, my tunic, my weapons and all the gear that I possessed, and bought myself a civilian dress. The remainder I ministered to the poor in that place. I went to the desert of Scetis and put on the monastic habit there. And again I was unable to stay in that place for fear that my parents would come after me. Little by little I wandered southwards until I arrived at this desert here".

### **The Early Life of Isaac and His First Experiences with Aaron**

89. I have heard these things that I have told you, my brother Paphnutius, from my father Apa Aaron after I begged him to tell me about his renunciation from the world. Furthermore, if you pray for me, I shall also tell you the things that I have seen with my own eyes. It happened to me, when I was a little boy in the house of my parents, that my parents sent me to school so that I could learn to write. My teacher encouraged me every day until he had taught me to copy from Holy Scripture. When I came upon the passage in the Gospel: "Whoever will not forsake father or mother"—and the rest that follows—"and follow me, is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10:37–38), I was struck by the saying and kept meditating upon it with all my heart.

90. It happened after some days that I heard about the fame of our holy father Apa Aaron, (of whom it was said) that he lived the monastic life in a place called the Valley and performed numerous healings for all the sick. I rose, went to the place where he lived and sat by the door of his dwelling until sunset, for that day was a weekday. When the evening fell and he had not come, I rose and walked into the desert for about three miles. Then I

ԵՂԵՆՏԱՅՏԵ ՆՐՈՄԵ ԵՄՏՈՔ ԵՋՕՂՆ ՉԱ ՕՂՔՈՎՉ ԽՍԵՏՐԱ. ԱԽՈՍԾԵ ՉԱՐԱՏ-  
ՕՂ ԱԵԻՆԵ ՄՔԱԵԻՄՏ ԵՏՕԿԱԱՅ ԱՔԱ ՉԱՐՈՆ ԵՐԵ ՕՂՆՕՂՉ ՄԽՐ ԵՂՆՈՅՆ ՈՎՆԵ  
ԵԳԱԾԵ ԵՔԵՄԱՔԺ.

39b 91. ՆՏԵՐԻՄՕՂՏԵ ԸԵ ՕՂԽՈՂ ԸԵ ՏՄՕՂ ԵՐՈԻ, ԱԳՇԱՉԵ ՔԵՄԱՔԺ ԵՅՈԼ ՉԻ  
ՔՆՕՂՉ ԱԳՆԵՃ ՔՈՎՆԵ ՉԻՃԻ ՔՔԱՉ ԱԳԻ ՉԻՈՎՈՂ ՆՏԵԳՏՈԼԽ, ԱԳՏՈՎՄԻ ԵՋՕՂՆ 5  
ԵՉՐԱԻ ՔԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ԸԵ ԵՂՆԽՂ ՄՈՆ, ՔԱՎԽՐԵ, ՄՔԵԻՄԱ; ԱՆՈՔ ԸԵ ՔԵՃԱԻ ՆԱԳ  
ԸԵ ՔՈ ՆԱԻ ԵՅՈԼ ՔԱԵԻՄՏ, ՄՄՈՆ ՆՏԱԻՇՈՐԻ. ՔԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ԸԵ ԱՄՕՂ ՆԴՉՄՈՍ,  
ՔԱՎԽՐԵ՝ ՄՄՈՆ ՆՏԱՔՏՈՐԻ ԱՆ ԱԼԼԱ ՆՏԱՔՉԵ ԵՏԵՂԻՆ ԵՏՆԱՆՕՂՏ. ՆՏԵՐԻ-  
ՉՄՈՍ ԸԵ ՉԱՉԽՈՂ ԱՔԱՐԱՔԱԼԵԻ ՄՄՕՂ ԸԵ ԵԻՕՂՈՎ ՉՈՎՏ ԵՏՐԻՔԱԱՏ ՄՄՕ-  
ՆՈՒՍ ԸԱՉԽՈՔ. ՔԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ՉԻ ՕՂՄՆԻՏՐԻՆՉԻՏ ԸԵ ՆՏԱ ՔԵՆՏՈՎԽՐ ՃՕՍ ԸԻ 10  
ՆԵԿԱԴԵԼԻՈՆ ԸԵ ԱՄԻՏԻՆ ՓԱՐՈԻ, ՕՂՈՆ ՆԻՄ ԵՏՉՕՍԵ, ԱՂՈՔ ԻՆԱԻ ՄՈՆ  
ՆԽԻՆ. ՔՐԱՆ ՆՏԻՆԻՏՄՈՆՈՒՍ | ՆԱՆՕՂՈՂ ԱԼԼԱ ՔԵԻՅԻՍ ՉՕՍԵ ՆՃՈՔԻ ԵՅՈԼ.  
ՔԵՃԱԻ ԸԵ ՆԱԳ ԸԵ ՆՏԱԵԻ ԵՉՐԱԻ ԵՔԵԻՄԱ ԵՏԵ ՔԵԻՉՈՅ, Ո ՔԱԵԻՄՏ ԵՏՕԿԱԱՅ,  
ԵՎՈՔԵ ԻՆԱՎՃՈՔԻ ԵՅՈԼ ՆԴՐ ՔՆԱ ՆԻՄԱԻ. ՔԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ԸԵ ՕՂՉՈՅ ԵՆԱՆՕՂՈՂ  
ՔԵՏԵԿՈՎԵ ՆՏՈՎ, Ո ՔԱՎԽՐԵ. ԵՎՃԵ ԱՔՉԻ ՏՕՏԻՔ ԵՔՉՈՅ ԵՏՆԱՆՕՂՈՂ, ՆԻՄ 15  
ՔԵՏՆԱՎՃՈՂՈՂ ՄՄՈՔ, Ո ՔԱՎԽՐԵ;

92. ԱՆՏՈՎՈՂՆ ԸԵ ԱՆԵԻ ԵՅՈԼ ՉԻ ՔՏՕՂ, ԱԳՃԻՏ ՓԱ ՕՂՔՐԵՇՅՄԵՐՈՍ ԵՏՐԻՔԻ  
ՉԻՈՎՏ ՄՔԵՇՏԽՄԱ ՆՏԻՆԻՏՄՈՆՈՒՍ ԱՂՈ ՆՏԵՐԻՄՕՂՏԵ ԵՋՕՂՆ ԱԳԵԻ ԵՅՈԼ  
ՆՅԵԻ ՔԵՐԵՇՅՄԵՐՈՍ ԱԳԱՏԱՉԵ ՄՄՈՆ ԱԳՃԻՏԻ ԵՋՕՂՆ ԵՔԵԳՏՈՔՈՍ. ԱՔԱԵԻՄՏ  
ՃՕՍ ՆԱԳ ՆՏԵՂՆՕՂ ԵՏԽԻՆՏ ԱՂՈ ՆՏԵՂՆՕՂ ԱԳՈՅՈՅ ՄՔՈՎ ՆՏԱԱՔԵ ԱԳԻ 20  
ԵՃՈԻ ՄՔԵՇՏԽՄԱ ՆՏԻՆԻՏՄՈՆՈՒՍ. ԱՆՏՈՎՈՂՆ ԱՆՅՈՔ ԵՔԵՆՄԱ ՆՈՎՈՔ.  
ՔԱԵԻՄՏ ԸԵ ԵՏՕԿԱԱՅ ԱՔԱ ՉԱՐՈՆ ԱԳՐ ՕՂՉԵՃՈՄԱՍ ՆՉՕՂ ԵԳՔՈՎ ՄՄՈԻ  
ԸԻ ՆԵՉԽԻԵ ՆՏԻՆԻՏՐԻՎՈՎՈՎ ՆՕՂՏԵ. ՄՆՆՇԱ ՆԱԻ ՔԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ԸԵ ՉՄՕՍ ՆԱՔ  
ԸԻ ՔԵԻՄԱ, ՏԱՅՈՔ ՏԱՅԻ ՔՈՎԵ ՄՔԵԻՍՈՆ ՏԱՔՏՈԻ ՓԱՐՈՔ. ՄՔԵԳՕՂՈՎ ԸԵ  
40a ԵՏՐԱԵԻՄԵ ԸԵ ԵԳՕՂՈՎ | ԵՅՈՔ ԵՆՂՔՈԼՂՏԵԿԵ. ՔԵՃԱԻ ԸԵ ՆԱԳ ԸԵ ԵՂՆԽՂ 25  
ՄՔՕՂ; ՔԵՃԱԳ ԸԵ ՆԱԻ ԸԵ ՄՄՈՆ, ՄԵՐԵ ՔՈՆ ՔԱԱՏ ԵՅՈԼ ՓԱ ՔՇԱՅՅԱ-  
ՏՈՆ.

93. ԵՆԵ ՔՈՐՈՐԻ ՆՉՕՂ ՆՏԱՅՈՔ ԵՅՈԼ ՉԻՏՕՏ ՔԵ ՔՕՂՈՎ ԱՂՈ ԱԳՐ  
ՔՈՐՈՐԻ ՆՉՕՂ ՄՆ ՔՄԵՉՏԱԿ ՄՆ ՔՄԵՉՈՄՆԻՏ ՓԱՉՐԱԻ ԵՔՄԵՉՂՏՕՂ ՄՆ  
ՔՄԵՉԻՕՂ. ԱՆՈՔ ԸԵ ԱՆՃԱԻՄՈՆԻՈՆ ԻՉԻՇԵ ՆԱԻ ԵՆԱՏԵ ԸԵ ԵՏԵ ՕՂ ԱՔԵԿԵԻՄՏ 30  
ՔԱԱՔ ՄԱԿԱԱՔ ԱՅՈՔ; ԵՏԵ ՕՂ ՄՔԵՄՃԻՏԻՔ ՆՏՈՔ ՆԴՃԻ ՏՄՕՂ ՆՏԻՆ ՔՈՆ ԵՏԻՄ-  
ՄԱԿ; ՆՏԵՐՕՂՏՈՎ ԸԵ ԵՂԵՆՈՒԼԵԻ ՆԱԻ ԱՆՏՈՎՈՂ ԱԻՇԻՏՕՏ ԵՋՕՂՆ ՉԻ ՔՏՕՂ  
ՓԱ ՔՆԱ ՆՏԱԻՉԵ ԵՐՕՂ ՄՔՈՐՈՐԻ ՆՏՈՔ. ԱԻՏԻՔԻ ԵԳԱԱՉԵՐԱԱՏԻ ԸԻ ՏՄՆԽԵ  
ՄՔՈՎ ԵՐԵ ՕՂՆՅՈՆ ՆՔԱՅՏՈՆ ՆՅՈԼ ԸԵ ՆԵ ՔՔԱՐՈՍ ՄՔՄՕՂՉ ՄՔՄՕՂՉ ԱՂՈ  
ՄԵՐԵ ՕՂՆՅՈՆ ՈՎՆԵ ՏԱԼԽՂ ԵՐՕՂ ԵԱՆԵՅՅԱԼ ՉՈՆ ԵՔՈՐԻ ԵՏԵ ՔՔԱՅՏՈ(Ն) 35  
ԵՏԻՅՈԼ. ԱՅՉԵ ԵՃԻՔԱՉ ԱՅՔԱ ՏՕՏԻՔ ԵՅՈԼ ԵՏՐԻՔՄՕՂ. ԱՆՈՔ ԸԵ ԱԻՄԱՉԵ

1 read ՕՂՕՂՉ 15 ԵՂՃԵ ՄՏ.

looked down at the sand and saw human footprints leading to the foot of a rocky hilltop. I followed them and found my holy father Apa Aaron with a rope tied to a large stone hanging from his neck.

91. When I called out to him, "Give me a blessing", he freed his neck from the rope, threw the stone on the ground and put on his garment. He looked at me and said, "Where are you going in this place, my son?" I said to him, "Forgive me, my father, for I am lost". He said to me, "Come and sit down, my son. Indeed, you are not lost, but you have found the right path". When I sat down beside him, I asked him, "I would like you to let me be a monk with you". He said to me with compassion, "Our Saviour has said in the Gospels: 'Come to me, whoever is weary, and I shall give you rest' (Matt. 11:28). Monasticism has a good name, but this way of life is hard to accomplish". I said to him, "My holy father, I have come here for this reason, if I shall be able to accomplish it and you show me mercy!" He said to me, "It is something good that you are pursuing, my son. Since you have begun the good thing, who will be able to stop you, my son?"

92. We rose and went out of the desert. He took me to a priest to clothe me in the monastic habit. When we announced ourselves, the priest came out. He greeted us and took us inside his dwelling. My father told him straight away about me and immediately he shaved the hair off my head and clothed me in the monastic habit. We rose and went to our dwelling. My holy father Apa Aaron spent a week to instruct me in the works of piety. Afterwards he told me, "Stay here and I shall go and visit a particular brother and then return to you". He did not want me to know that he wished to go and perform his ascetic practices. I said to him, "Are you coming (back) today?" And he told me, "No, the brother will not let me go until Saturday".

93. The first day he left me was a weekday, and he stayed away the first, second and third day, up to the fourth and the fifth. But the demons badly troubled me, (saying), "Why has your father left you alone and has he gone? Why has he not taken you with him to receive a blessing from that brother?" When they continued to bother me, I rose and ventured into the desert to the place where I had found him the first time. I encountered him standing in the middle of the sand, while an excessive heat reigned, for it was the season of the Nile inundation. There was a large stone sitting upon him and his eyes were about to burst because of the heat that reigned. He fell down upon the ground and gave himself up to die. I grabbed him and raised him up,

40b 5  
 ΜΜΟQ ΔΙΤΟΥΝΟC̄ ΕΙΡΙΜΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΞΡΑQ ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΔΖΡΟΚ ΕΚΤΖΙCΕ ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΤΖΕ ΤΗΡC̄, Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ; | ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ, Ω ΠΑΩΗΡΕ; ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΝΟΥΒΑ † ΖΙCΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΙΕΙ ΕΤΑΜΟΚ.  
 ΑQΝΕΤΒ̄ ΡΩQ ΝCΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΑΛΗΘΩC ΝΑΝΟΥΒΑ Ε{Τ}ΟΗΠ ΝΕ, Ω ΠΑΩΗΡΕ.

94. ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΜΟQ ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ †CΟΠCΠ̄ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΕΙΩΤ 5  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ Κ† ΜΜΟΚ ΕΝΕΙΖΙCΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΠΟΛΥΤΑ; ΑQΟΥΩΩΒ̄ ΝCΙ  
 ΠΖΛΛΟ ΝΑΜΕ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΧΕ Ν†ΝΑΖΠ̄ ΛΑΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΑΩΗΡΕ, Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΤΕΚΩΙΝΕ  
 ΝCΩΟΥ. ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ, ΠΕΧΑQ, Ε†ΝΑΡ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄ΝΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑQΩΟΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ  
 ΝCΙ ΠΑC(ΩΤ)ΗΡ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΩΑΝΤΕQ† CΟ ΕΠΕΝΓΕΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΧΜΑΛΩCΙΑ  
 ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC, ΑQ† ΜΠΕQCΩΜΑ Μ̄Ν ΠΕQCΝΟQ ΖΑΡΟΝ, ΩΑΙΧΟΟC ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΧΕ 10  
 ΕΩΧΕ ΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΑΝΕΧΕ ΕΩΠ̄ ΖΙCΕ ΖΑΡΟΝ, ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΩΩΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΡ̄ΝQΙ ΖΑ  
 ΖΙCΕ ΝΙΜ ΩΑΝΤΕQΡ ΟΥΝΑ Μ̄ΜΑ(Ν) ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΝCΗΠΩΙΝΕ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡQ̄-  
 ΧΟΟΥ, ΑΝΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΝΜΑ ΝΩΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ  
 41a 15  
 ΝQ̄ΠΟΛΥΤΕΥΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙCΜΟ`Τ` Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΤΕQΝΑΟΥΩΜ, ΕΝΕ|ΜΕQCΕ  
 ΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤQ̄, ΑΥΩ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΕQΝΑCΕ ΜQΟΥ, ΕΝΕΜΕQΟΥΩΜ.

95. ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΟYΟΥΩΗ ΕΝΕΝΚΟΤ̄Κ ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΝΜΑ ΝΩΩΠΕ,  
 ΑΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑCΙΑ ΖΡΑΙ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙΑ ΕΥΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΑCΠΕ  
 Ν̄Ν(Β)ΛΕΖΜΟΟΥΕ. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΙCΩΤ̄Μ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΙΩΤΟΡΤΡ̄ ΑΥΩ ΑΙΚΙΜ ΕΠΑ-  
 ΕΙΩΤ ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΒΕΛΖΜΟΟΥΕ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΝ. ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΠΡ̄Ρ  
 ΖΟΤΕ, ΠΑΩΗΡΕ. QCHΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ Τ̄ΜΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥCΘΜ` ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ 20  
 ΜΑΡΕ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΤΕ ΝΕQΧΑΧΕ ΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡQ̄ΧΟΟΥ,  
 ΑΝΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΠΕ. ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν†ΖΕ`  
 ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΙCΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤ̄ΝΖΟΤΒΟΥ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΧΕ ΜΑΡ̄ΝΖΟΤΒΟΥ ΖΙΧ̄Μ  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΝΕΥΝΖΗΤQ̄. ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΔΕ ΑQΕΙΜΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΧΕ ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ  
 ΝΕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΑΡ̄ΝΤΑΑΝ ΕΠΕΩΛ`Η`Λ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΑΑΝ ΕΠΕΩΛΗΛ 25  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΝΤΑΑΝ ΕΠΕΩΛΗΛ, ΑΥΠΩΤ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙΑ.

96. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΙΡ ΩΠΗΡΕ, ΠΕΧΑΙ ΜΠΖΛΛΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν) ΧΕ ΜΗ  
 41b 30  
 ΩΑΥΡ† ΑΩΗ ΝCΜΟΤ ΝCΙ ΝΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ; | ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΝΑΥ, Ω  
 ΠΑΩΗΡΕ` ΟΥΚΟQΙ ΝΖΩΒ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΝΑΑQ` ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΥCΟΝ ΧΟΟC ΝΑΙ ΧΕ  
 ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΟΥCΟΠ ΕΙΑΔΖΕΡΑΔΤ ΖΑ ΟΥΚΟΟΖ ΝΤΟΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΩΩΜ,  
 ΕΝΕ ΠΑCΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΩΜ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΙCΩ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΙΖΜΟΟC ΕΖΡΑΙ, ΑQΕΙ  
 ΝCΙ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΖΡΑΒΔΟC Ν̄ΝΟΥΒ Ζ̄Μ ΤΕQCΙΧ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΧΡΟ  
 ΜΗ`Ο`Κ, Ω ΠΩΘΕΙΧ ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΝΤΑQΜΙΩΕ ΚΑΛΩC` ΑΙΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΚΖΙCΕ,  
 ΑΥΤ̄ΜΝΟΟΥΤ ΕCΧΩΛK̄. ΠCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤ̄ΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΡQ̄ΝΑΥ ΕΝΚΟΤC̄ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC  
 ΑQΩΩΛZ̄ ΝΟΥCΤ(ΑΥ)ΡΟC ΕΠΚΑΖ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑQΡ ΑΤΟΥΩ̄ΝZ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΙ ΠΔΑΙΜΟ- 35  
 ΝΙΟΝ.

29 ΝΤΑΚΑΔΑQ ms. 34 ΑΥΤ̄ΜΝΟΟΥΚ ms.



weeping before him and saying, “Why do you inflict so much suffering upon yourself, my holy father?” But he said to me, “Why have you come here, my son?” I said to him, “The Nubians troubled me and I have come to tell you”. He smiled and said, “In reality they are invisible Nubians, my son”.

94. I entreated him, saying, “I beg you, your holy Fatherhood, why do you give yourself to these afflictions and ascetic practices?” The true old man Apa Aaron answered, “I shall not hide from you, my son, anything you ask. For whenever,” he said, “I remember the afflictions that our good Saviour suffered for us so that he redeemed our race from the captivity of the Devil—he gave his body and blood for us—I also say that, since God accepted to suffer for us, it is fitting for us to endure all sorts of afflictions so that he has mercy on us on the day of our visitation”. When he had said these things, we rose, left and went to our dwelling for that day. And he lived his ascetic life in this way: on the day on which he would eat, he would not drink water and on the day on which he would drink water, he would not eat.

95. It happened one night, while both of us were sleeping in our dwelling, that the demons made an appearance in the Valley, while they cried out in the language of the Blemmyes. When I heard them, I was terrified and shook my father, saying, “The Blemmyes have come to us!” But he said to me, “Do not be afraid, my son. For it is written: ‘Through our God we shall perform a mighty deed’ (Ps. 59:14), and also: ‘Let God rise and his enemies be shattered’ (Ps. 67:2)”. When he had said these things, we rose and went to the upper floor. And the demons cried out as follows, while some (said), “Bring them out, so that we can kill them”, and others (said), “Let us kill them at the place where they were!” But the holy man knew through the Spirit that they were demons. He said to me, “Let us give ourselves to prayer”, and immediately we gave ourselves to prayer. And as soon as we gave ourselves to prayer, they fled from the Valley.

96. I was amazed and said to the holy old man Apa Aaron, “Do the demons then take on many forms?” He said, “You have seen it, my son. What we did was only a minor thing. For a brother told me, ‘Once it happened to me, as I was standing below a hilltop in the days of summer—it was the sixth day that I had not eaten, drunk or sat down—that a demon appeared with a golden staff in his hand. He said to me, “Stand firm, athlete of Christ, who has competed well! For I have seen your afflictions and I have been sent to comfort you”. But when that brother perceived the wiles of the Devil, he drew a cross on the ground. And immediately the demon became invisible’”.

97. αςωωπε δε ντερῆδε ναι νῶι ππετογααβ ἀπα ῥαρων, ἀπαρῆτ ῥα νεφογρηντε ἀπαρκαλει νμοϋ δε νιμ πε πсон ετῆμαγ; ντοϋ δε πεχαϋ δε τωογν εῖραι αῶω ἡναταμοκ. ντερειτωογν δε εῖραι, πεχαϋ ναι δε σωωτ, νπῆχοос νλααγ· ἀνοκ πε πειρῆγαλ νατωαγ. ἀπαι ωωπε νμοι.

42a 98. αςωωπε δε он ἡογχοογ ενζμοос нῆ νενернγ αχει εвол ῥῆ πτοογ 5  
νῶι ογανογβα нῆ πεϋωнре δε εγнасе мооγ ῥῆ пειер'о' | αῶω νтере  
пωнре коγι νεχ. теϋбix. епмооγ δε εγнасω, аϋсоκῆ νῶι оγноо νем-  
саῖ аϋῥарпазе нмоϋ аϋвωк. νтеγноγ δε απεϋειωτ νοχῆ εχῆ πκαῖ  
аϋаωκακ εвол аϋрime ῥῆ оγсiωе, ене нῆтаϋ ωнре нсаβλλαϋ. енеϋ-  
пнт δε ῥι πтооγ еϋχι ωκακ εвол аϋсолῆ ἡνεϋμεлос ῥῆ нωне етхнр 10  
ῥῆ нпетра аϋплγгеи нпечсωма ммаате. ἀνοκ δε ἡтереинаγ епечноо  
нῆкаῖ нῡнт аixоос нпавейт. аϋτωογн аχει ерῆ про аϋχωрῆ нпа-  
ноγβα νтеϋбix етрῆвωк ωароϋ. ἡτερῆει δε аϋнаγ енеплγгн етῆῆ πεϋ-  
сωма, аϋϋωте εвол ἡнесноϋ етсωк епеснт ῥῆ πεϋсωма, аϋамаῖте  
нмоϋ аϋχитῆ εзоγн епечма нωωπε аϋχитῆ ἡхнааῖ аϋтрῆζмоос. 15

42b 99. ντερῆхнооγϋ δε епентаϋωωπε нпечейме епетῆхω нмоϋ наϋ.  
πεχε павейт ναι δε τωογн анаγ δε кнаоῆ оγρωме ῥῆ теῖн нῆмоγте  
ероϋ· арнγ кнаоῆнтῆ еϋсооγн ἡωаде нῆмаϋ. νтеривωк δε аiоῆ оγрῆ-  
пilaк еϋталнγ еп(еϋ)ейω еγнавωк есоγан. аимоγте ероϋ | πεхаи наϋ 20  
δε ара кнои нῡаcпe нῆаноγβα; πεхаϋ δε се. аixитῆ δε ωа павейт апа  
ῥарон. прωме δε етῆмаγ ἡτερῆнаγ епанογβα ῥῆ неплγгн етῆῆ πεϋ-  
сωма аϋр ωпнре емаате πεхаϋ наϋ δε аῖроκ екплγгн; паноγβα δε  
аϋтамоϋ епентаϋωωπε. ππετογαаβ δε апа ῥарон аϋχι ἡογлакῆ ἡωе  
аϋтаас наϋ еϋхω нмоо δε χитс νοхс епеснт епейеро пма нта пῆсаῖ  
ϋи нпекωнре нῡнтῆ· аῶω аϋвωк ката ое нтаϋхоос наϋ. 25

100. αςωωπε δε ἡτερῆнех тлакῆ ἡωе епмооγ, аχει ἡογноо нῆсаῖ  
аϋноγхе нпωнре коγи епекро енῆ лааγ ἡтако ωооп нпечсωма· аῶω  
аϋамаῖте ἡтеϋбix аϋентῆ ωа пῡλλо етоγааβ апа ῥарон. паноγβα  
δε ἡτερῆнаγ етеωпнре аϋеω λογλαι εвол ῥа праϋе еаϋῥωλῶ ероϋ  
аϋт πи ероϋ. прωме δε аϋвωк епilaк, нпечвωк есоγан ἡπερзооγ етῆ- 30  
наγ аλλα неϋмооωе пе еϋтаϋе оейω ἡтеωпнре нтасωωπε. паноγβα  
43a δε ἡτερῆнаγ етеωпнре нтасωωπε аϋвωк епечни еϋт еооγ | нпноγте  
аῶω еϋтаϋе оейω нпентаϋωωπε. аῶω оγон ним нтаγсωтῆ аγт еооγ  
нпноγте нῆ ππετογαаβ апа ῥарон ωаῖραι епооγ нῡооγ.

10 read аϋсωлῆ || ἡνεϋμεлос: ἡнеϋсωма ms. 21 паноγβα Budge 25 нῡнтс ms. 26  
ἡτερῆнохс ms.

97. It happened that, when the holy Apa Aaron had said these things, I fell down at his feet and entreated him, "Who is that brother?" He said, "Rise and I shall tell you". And when I had risen, he told me, "See that you do not tell anyone! I was that worthless servant. This happened to me".

### **The Miracle of the Nubian and His Son**

98. It happened one day, as we were sitting together, that a Nubian and his son came out of the desert to drink water from the river. When the little boy put his hand into the water to drink, a huge crocodile grabbed him, snatched him away and went off. Immediately his father fell to the ground, cried out and wept bitterly, as he did not have a son beside this one. He ran into the desert, crying out, cut his limbs on the sharp stones of the rocks and injured his body severely. When I saw his great heartache, I told my father. He rose, went to the door and gestured with his hand to the Nubian to come to him. When he had come, he saw the wounds on his body and wiped away the blood that flowed down from his body. He took him, brought him inside his dwelling and forced him to sit down.

99. When he asked him what had happened, he did not understand what he said to him. My father said to me, "Rise and see if you can find someone on the road and call him. Perhaps you will find someone who knows how to speak with him". When I went out, I found a man from Philae riding his donkey, who was on his way to Aswan. I called him and said to him, "Do you know the language of the Nubians?" He said, "Yes". And I brought him to my father Apa Aaron. When that man saw the Nubian and the wounds that covered his body, he was most astonished and said to him: "How did you get injured?" And the Nubian told him what had happened. The holy Apa Aaron took a piece of wood, gave it to him and said, "Take it and throw it into the river at the place where the crocodile seized your son". And he went as he had told him.

100. And it happened that when he threw the piece of wood into the water a huge crocodile appeared and cast the little boy on the bank, his body entirely unharmed. And he took his hand and brought him to the holy old man Apa Aaron. When the Nubian saw the miracle, he shouted for joy, hugged and kissed him. The man went (back) to Philae and did not go to Aswan that day, but went about proclaiming the miracle that had happened. When the Nubian saw the miracle that had happened, he went to his home glorifying God and proclaiming what had happened. And everyone who heard about it glorified God and the holy Apa Aaron until this very day.

101. ԸՏԾԾԾԾ ԸԵ ՕՆ ՈՅՂՅՕՅ ԵՆԶՄՕՕ ՉԻՒ ՔԵՆՄԱ ՆԾԾԾԾ ԸԿՐԾԾԾ  
 ՈՅԾԾԾ ԵԻ ԾԾՐՈՆ ԵՐԵ ՆԵԿԾՐԻԾԵ ՔԻԶ ԶԻԾԾԾ ԵՐԵ ԾԵԿԾԾԾ ՄԵԶ ՆԵԻԾՒ ԵԿՐԻԾԾ  
 ԵՄԱԾԾԵ ՉԻ ՕԿԻԾԾԵ. ԸՆՕԿ ԸԵ ԸԻԺ ՄԻԾՕԾԾԻ ԵՐ՝Օ՛Կ ԵԼԾԾ ՄՄՕՕ ԾԵ ՕԿ ՔԵՆ-  
 ԾԾԾԾԾԾԾ ՄՄՕԿ; ՆԾՕԿ ԸԵ ՔԵԾԾԾ ՆԱԻ ԾԵ ԸՏԾԾԾԾ ՄՄՕԻ ԵԻՏԾԿ ՄԻԵԾՐՆԻ  
 ՄԻՒ ՔԱԿՕԻ ՆԾՐԻԵ ԵԿԶԻՒ ՔԾՕԻ, ՉԻ ՕԿԾԾԾ ԸԿԶԵ ԵՔԵՏԻԾ ԵՔՄՕՅ ԸԿԾԾԿ 5  
 ԵԶՐԱԻ ԵԾԱԾԾ ԸԿԾ ՄԻԵԿԾԾԻՏՕՄ ԵՏԵԿ ՔԵԾՐՆԻ ԵԶՐԱԻ ԵՅՕԼ ԾԵ ԵՐԵ ՔՄՕՅ  
 ՆԾԾԾԾ ԵՄԱԾԾԵ. ՆԾԵՐԻՒ ՔՄԵԵԿԵ ՄԻԾԾ(ՕԵԻ)Տ ՆԵԻԾԾ ԵԾՕԾԾԾ ԸՔԱ ԶԱՐԾՆ  
 ԸԻԾԾՕԾՆ ԸԻԵԻ ԾԾՐՕԿ ԾԵ ԵՐԵ ՔԵԿՆԱ ՆԱԾԱԶՐՕԻ ԾԵ ՕԿԾՐԻԵ ՈՅԾԾԾ ՆԱԻ ՔԵ.  
 ԸՆՕԿ ԸԵ ԸԻԾԾՕԾՆ ԸԻՅԾԿ ԸԻԾԾԾ ՔԱԵԻԾԾԾ՝ ԸԿԾԾՕԾՆ ԸԿԵԻ ԵՔԵՏԻԾ. ՔՐԾԾԾ  
 ԸԵ ԸԿՔԱԶԾԾԾ ԶԱ ՆԵԿՕԿՐԻՆԻԾԵ ԸԿՕԾԾԾԾԾ ՆԱԿ ԵԿԾԾ ՄՄՕՕ ԾԵ ՅՈՆԾԵԻ ԵՐՕԻ 10  
 ՆԻՏԻՒՔԻ ՔԵԾ(ՔԻՏԾՕ)Տ ՆԿԾԱՐԻԶԵ ՆԱԻ ՄԻԾԾՐԻԵ ԾԵ <ՄՆ> ՕԾՕՆ ՆԾԱԻ ՆՏԱԾԾԾ-  
 ԼԱԿ.

43b 102. ՔԶԾԾԾ ԸԵ ԵԾԾԱԻՆԿ ՔԵԾԾԾ ՆԱԿ | ԾԵ ԾՕԿ, ՔԱԾՐԻԵ, ՉԻ ՔՐԱՆ  
 ՄԻՒ(ՕԵԻ)Տ. ԺՔԻՏԵԿԵ ԾԵ ԿՆԱԶԵ ԵՔԵԿԾՐԻԵ ԵԿԶՄՕՕ ՉԻՒ ՔԾՕԻ. ՆԾՕԿ ԸԵ  
 ՔԵԾԾԾ ԾԵ ԺՔԻՏԵԿԵ ԵՔՆՕԾԾԵ ԾԵ ՏՆԱԾԾԾ ԿԱԾԱ ԾԵ ՆԾԱԿԾՕՕՕ. ՆԾՕԿ ԸԵ 15  
 ԸԿԾԾԿ ԵՔԾՕԻ ԸԿԶԵ ԵՔԵԿԾՐԻԵ ԿԱԾԱ ԾԵ ՆԾԱԿԾՕՕՕ ՆԱԿ. ԸԿԾԾԾ ԵՔԿԾՐԻԵ  
 ԾԵ ՕԿ ՔԵՆԾԱԿԾԾԾ ՄՄՕԿ; ՆԾՕԿ ԸԵ ՔԵԾԾԾ ԾԵ ԸՏԾԾԾԾ ՄՄՕԻ ՆԾԵՐԵԻԾԾԿ  
 ԵԶՐԱԻ ԵԾԱԾԾ, ԵԺ ԸԵ ԵՐԵ ՔԱԶԱՆ ՆԻՆԻԿԵ ՉԻ ՆԱՏԾԾԾ ԸԻՏԾԾԾԾ ԸԻՆԱԿ ԵԿՐԾԾԾ  
 ՆՕԾՕԵԻ(Ն) ԵԱԿԱՄԱԶԾԵ ՆԾԱՏԻԾ ԸԿԵՆԾԾ ԵԶՐԱԻ ՉԻՒ ԾԱԾԾ ԸԿԾԱԼՕԻ ԵՔԾՕԻ ԸԿԾ  
 ՆԾԵԿՆՕԿ ԸԻԼՕ ԵԻՆԱԿ ԵՐՕԿ. ՔԵԿԵԻԾԾ ԸԵ ԸԿԱՄԱԶԾԵ ՄՄՕԿ ԸԿԵՆԾԾԾ ԵՐԱԾԾԾ 20  
 ՄՔԵԾՕԾԾԾ ԸՔԱ ԶԱՐԾՆ ԸԿԾԾԾ ԶՄՕԾ ՆԾԾ ՔՆՕԾԾԾ ՄՄՕԿ ՔՔԵԾՕԾԾԾ ԸՔԱ  
 ԶԱՐԾՆ.

103. ՆԵԿՆ ՕԿՐԾԾԾ ԸԵ ՕՆ ՆՕԾՕԵԻՆ ՄՔՐԻՏ ՄՄՕՆ ՆՕԿՕԾԻ ԵԿՐՒ ԶՅԵ ԵԿՄԱ  
 ՆԵԼՕՕԼԵ. ԸՏԾԾԾԾ ԸԵ ՆԾԵՐԾԾԼԵ ԵԿԾՒՆԾԵ ԾԵ ԵԿՆԱԿԾԾԾ ՆՆԵԿԿԱՐՒ՝Օ՛Տ,  
 ԸԾԾՐՆԾԵ ՏՕԼՒՒ ԸԿԶԵ ՆՏԱ ՔԱԶՕԿ ԶԻԾԾ ՔԿԱԶ ԸԿՐՒ ԾԵ ՆՆԵԾԾՄՕՅԾ. ՔԵԿԾՐԻԵ 25  
 ԸԵ ՆԿԶՄՕՕ ԶԱ ԾԾՒՆԾ ԸԿԾ ՆԾԵՐԾԾԱԿ ԵՔԵՆԾԱԿԾԾԾ ԸԿՐԻԾԾ ՉԻ ՕԿԻԾԾԵ.  
 44a ՆՐԾԾԾ ԸԵ ԵԾԾՔԵԿԾԾԾ | ՆԾԵՐ[ՕԿԾԾԾ]Ւ ԵՐՕԿ ԵԿԾԾ ԵՅՕԼ ԸԿԾԾԿ ԵՄԱԿ  
 ԵՔԵՆԾԱԿԾԾԾ. ՆԾԵՐՕԾՆԱԿ ԸԵ ԵՔԱԻ ԵԿՆԻԾ ԵՅՕԼ ԵԾԾ ՔԿԱԶ, ԵԾԵ ՔԵԿԾԾՐԻԵ  
 ՔԵ, ԵԿՕ ՆԾԵ ՆՆԵԾԾՄՕՅԾ, [Ք]ԵԾԱԿ ՄՔԵԿԾՐԻԵ ԾԵ ԾՕԿ ԾԾԱ ՔՔԵԾՕԾԾԾ ԸՔԱ  
 ԶԱՐԾՆ ՆԻԾԻ ՆՕԿՏԱՔՆ ՄՄՕՅ ՆԾՕՕԾԾԾ ՉԻ ՕԿՔԻՏԻՏ ՆԻՂՆՕԾԾ ԵԾԾԾ՝ ՄԵԾԱԿ 30  
 ԿՆԱՆԵԶՏԵ.

2 ՄԵԶ ԵԻԾԾԻ ms. 14 ԵՆԵԿԾՐԻԵ Budge 15 ՔՔԻՏԵԿԵ Budge 25 read ՏՕԼԻ 28 ՔԱԻ  
 Budge 29 ՆՆԵԾԾՄՕՅԾ ms.

### **The Miracle of the Fisherman and His Son**

101. It happened one day, as we were sitting in our dwelling, that a fisherman came to us. His clothes were torn, his head was covered with dust and he was crying very bitterly. I made my way to him, saying, "What happened to you?" He said to me, "It happened to me, while I was dragging the net with my small son who was in the boat with me, that he suddenly fell into the water and ended up in the net. And I was unable to pull up the net because the current was very strong. When I remembered my lord and holy father Apa Aaron, I rose and came to him, hoping that his mercy would befall me, for he was my only son". I rose, went and told my father. He got up and came down. The man fell down in reverence at his feet, saying, "Help me and entreat Christ that he grants me my son, for I have no one beside him".

102. The venerable old man said to him, "Go, my son, in the name of the Lord. I believe that you will find your son sitting in the boat". He said, "I believe by God that it will happen just as you have said!" He went to the boat and found his son, just as he had told him. He asked his son, "What has happened to you?" He said, "It happened to me, when I ended up in the net and my last breath was still in my nose, that I looked and saw a man of light who took my hand, lifted me up out of the net and put me on the boat. And I immediately stopped seeing him". His father took him and brought him to the holy Apa Aaron. And he thanked God and the holy Apa Aaron.

### **The Miracle of the Vineyard Worker**

103. There lived a labourer some distance to the south of us who worked in a vineyard. It happened that when he climbed up a date palm to gather its fruits the belt broke. He fell backwards to the ground and became like dead. His son was sitting under the date palm and when he saw what had happened he cried bitterly. When the men in his vicinity heard him shouting they went to see what had happened. And when they saw their comrade lying on the ground as if he was dead, they said to his son, "Go to the holy Apa Aaron, take a cup of water from him in faith and sprinkle it over him. Perhaps he will wake up".

104. πΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ ΔΑΒΩΚ ΩΑ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΦΡΙΜΕ. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ Νῒ-  
 ΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΑΖΤῒ ΠΡΟ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ Ζῒ ΟΥΚΑΥΜΑ ΕΦΖΟΟΣΕ. ΠΩΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΩΗΗ ΔΑ-  
 ΠΑΖΤῒ ΝΑΦ ΔΑΤΑΜΟΦ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ. ΠΔΙΚΑΙ'Ο'С ΔΕ ΝΩῒΖΤΗΦ ΝΤΕΡῒ-  
 СΩΤῒ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΑΦῒΚΑΖ ῒΖΗΤ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΔΝΙΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝῒΦΙΤῒ ΝῒΝΟΧῒ ΕΧΩΦ Ζῒ ΠΡΑΝ ῒΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C. ΔΙΕΝΤῒ ΔΕ ΝΑΦ ΔΑ- 5  
 CΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΔΑΤΑΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΧΙΤῒ ΝῒΝΟΧῒ ΕΧΩΦ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡῒΝΟΧῒ  
 ΕΧΩΦ ΔΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ, ΑΦΕΙ Μῒ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΔΑΦΟΥΩΠῒ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν). ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΔΑΤΟΥΝΟCῒ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΩΠῒ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΔΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΔΗῒ ΟΥΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC. ΝΤΕΡῒΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΤΑΜΟΦ ΕΠΕΝ-  
 44b ΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC | ΧΕ ΝΤΕΡΙΝΟΥΧῒ ΜΠΜΟ[ΟΥ ΕΧ.]ΦΚ ΑΚΒΟCῒ ΑΚ- 10  
 ΑΑΖΕΡΑΤῒ ΖΩC ΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΝΕΖCΕ ΖΑ ΠΡΙΝΗΒ. ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤῒ Ζῒ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ.

105. ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ Ζῒ ΠΕΙΔΑΚ ΝΤΕΡῒΕΙ ΕCΝΑΜΙCΕ, ΑΠΕCΩΗΡΕ ΧΟΤῒ ΝΖΗΤῒ  
 ΑΦΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ῒΤΕΡῒΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΝΕ{C}ΩΠΗΡΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῒ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ, ΔCΩΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΕCΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ 15  
 ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ, ΕΚΕCΩΤῒ ΕΡΟΙ Ζῒ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΝΑΝΑΓΚΗ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ  
 ΔCΜΙCΕ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ ΕΦΜΟΟΥΤ. ΝΕCΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΛΥΠΕΙ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΩΗΗ. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΤΩΕΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΩΗΗ ΝΑΥ ΕΝΕCΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΥΜΟΚῒ ῒΖΗΤ, ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑΥ  
 ΧΕ ΑΖΡΩΤῒ ΕΤΕΤῒΜΟΚῒ ῒΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ; ῒCΑΒΗΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΔΙΑΙΤΕΙ  
 ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΕΩΧΕ ΔΙΖΩΝ ΕΜΟΥ, ΔΝΟΚ <ΝΕΙΝΑΚΩ 20  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ> ΜΠΑCΩΜΑ.

106. ΝΤΕΡΟΥCΩΤῒ ΔΕ ΝCΙ ΝΕCΕΙΟΤΕ, ΕΝΕ ΖῒΡῒΜΑΟ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΑΔΤΕ ΝΕ,  
 ΑΥΧΙ ῒΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ Ζῒ ΝΕΥCΙΧ, ΑΥΒΩΚ ΩΑ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ. ΝΤΟΦ  
 ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑΜΟΦ Ζῒ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΗ)Δ ΧΕ CΕΝΗΥ ΩΑΡΟΚ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΩΤΑΗ 25  
 45a ΜΠΡΟ, ΜΠῒΚΑ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΟΟΥ. ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ | ΔΕ ΑΥῒ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΑΠΗΤΕ 25  
 ΕΥΤΩΖῒ ΕΖΟΥΝ. ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦCΩΠῒ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῒ ΟΥΩΟΥΤ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΤῒ-  
 ΩΠΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΟΥ; ΑΥΟΥΩΠῒ ΧΕ ΕΝΩΠΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΤΕΚΜῒΤΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΕΙΤΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ  
 ΕΤΕΤῒΡ ΧΡΙΑ ῒΟΥ; ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΝΕΙ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΕΚΜῒΤΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  
 ΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤῒ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΝῒΩΛΗΛ ΕΧῒ ΠΚΟΥΙ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝῒΩΝῒ ΝΤΕΦ-  
 ΜΑΔΥ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑ ΤΕΦΜΑΔΥ ΕΠΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑCΕΙ ΕCΝΑΜΙCΕ· 30  
 ΕΝΕ ΜΗΟΝ ΠΕ, ΑΥΜΟΥ ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ.

107. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΡΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΑΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΧΟΟC ΧΕ  
 ΤΠΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΜΠ ΤΕ ΤῒΤῒΜΑΙΖΟΜῒΤ· ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΑΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΠΙΤῒΜΑ ῒCΙ-  
 ΜΩΝ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΠΕΚΖΑΤ Μῒ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΒ ΕΦΕΩΠΕ ΝῒΜΑΚ ΖΙ ΠΤΑΚΟ 35  
 ΧΕ ΑΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΤΔΩΡΕΑ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΩΑΥΧΠΟC ΖΙΤῒ ΧΡΗΜΑ. ΓΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΕ 35  
 ΤῒΝΤῒΜΑΙΖΟΜῒΤ ΝΤΑΥCΖΡΟΥΕΡ ΓΙΕΙCΕΙ Ζῒ ΟΥCΩΒῒ. ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΟΝ

13 ΧΟΖῒ ms., read ΧΩΤῒ 15 ΕΦΧΩ ms. 16 ΤΟΥΝΟΥ Budge 25 ΟΥῒ Budge 32 ΖΑΡΩΝ:  
 Δ corr. < Ω 34 ῒῒΜΑΚ: second Η corr. < Ν 35 ΤΑΙ Budge, read καί 36 read ΝΤΑΥCΖΡΟΥΕΡ,  
 final Ρ corr. < Ι

104. The little boy went crying to the holy man. The holy man was sitting by the door, for he was recovering from a heavy fever. The little boy fell down before him and told him what had happened. When the righteous and compassionate one heard what had happened, he was grieved. He said to me, "Bring me some water, in order that he may take it and sprinkle it over him in the name of Christ". I brought it to him. He made the sign of the cross over it and gave it to him, (saying), "Take it and sprinkle it over him". And when he sprinkled it over him, he rose immediately. He came with his son and paid homage to the holy man Apa Aaron. But he raised him up and said, "Pay homage to God, for I am just a humble man". When he rose, his son told him what had happened, saying, "When I sprinkled the water over you, you jumped up and rose to your feet as if you woke up from sleep". And thus they went away from him in peace.

### The Miracle of the Stillborn Boy

105. When a woman from Philae was about to give birth, her child got stuck inside her and died. And when she remembered the miracles that God worked through the holy Apa Aaron, she cried out, saying, "God of the holy Apa Aaron, may you listen to me in this hour of need!" Immediately she gave birth to the little dead boy. Her parents greatly mourned for the little boy. When the girl saw her parents grieving, she said to them, "Why are you grieving for the little boy? For if I had not, on the brink of death, entreated the God of the holy Apa Aaron, I would have lost my life".

106. When her parents heard this, they took money with them—for they were very rich—and went to the holy Apa Aaron. But he was informed by the Spirit, (which said), "They are coming to you". He said to me, "Close the door and let no one enter for me today". When they arrived, they spent a long time knocking on the door. He looked out a window and said to them, "What are you looking for?" They answered, "We are looking for your Holiness". Then he said, "What do you need?" They said, "We have come to meet your Holiness. Accept this small gift from us and pray for the little boy that he may live for his mother's sake. For his mother invoked your name at the moment she was about to give birth. If not, they would both have died".

107. The holy Apa Aaron said to them, "The Apostle has rightly said: 'The love of money is the root of all evil' (1 Tim. 6:10). Furthermore Peter rebuked Simon, saying: 'May your silver and your gold go to perdition with you, since you thought that the gift of God can be obtained with money' (Acts 8:20). Indeed, through the love of money Gehazi was cursed with leprosy (cf. 2 Kgs.

ՆՏԱԳՃՈՕՏ ՄԲԱՏԻԼԻԿՕՏ ՃԷ ԲՈՒՔ, ՔԵԿՈՒՐԷ ՕՈՂ՝ ՆՏԱԳԻ ՈՍԿ ԲԱԳ ԱՆ  
ՕԿԱԷ ԶԱՏ. ՆՏՈՒՆԻ ԴԷ ԶՈՒՏ ԿՆԻՆԻ ԵՓՈՒՔ ՕԿՆԵՏԵՆԻ ՍԻՏԻՏ ՄՄԱԿ, ԿԱՓ-  
ՔԵԱ ԻՔԵՒ(ՐԻՏՈ)Տ ՆԱՓՈՒՔ ՆԻՏԻՆ. ԱԿՕԿՈՒԾ ԴԷ ԿՆԻՔԵՏԵԿԷ ԵՔԵՆԵԻՈՒՏ  
ԵՏՕԿԱԲ [Ե]ԶՈՒ ՆԻՄ ԵՏԵԿՆԱՃՕՕԿ ՆԱՆ ԴԷ ՔԵՒ(ՐԻՏՈ)Տ ՆԱՃՕԿՕԿ ԵՅՈԼ.

45b 108. ՔԵԻՈՒՏ ԴԷ ՄԲՈՒՐԷ ՈՒՄ ԶԳՃԻ ՕԿԿՕԿԻ ՆԿԱԶ ԶԻՐԻ ՍՐՕ ՄՔԵԿՄԱ 5  
ՆՓՈՒՔ ԱԿՄՕՐԳ ԵՔԵԿՐՈՒՄ ԱԿՈՒՆԵՐՕԿԷ ԶՅՕԿՆ ԵՔԻ ԱԿԶԷ ԵԿՆՕՏ  
ՄԻՆԻՈՒԷ ԵԿՏՈՒԶ ՄԻՆ ԿԵԿՏԻՆԷ ՄԻՆ ՔԵՏՈՒՐԷ. ԱՔԵԿԵԻՈՒՏ ԲՈԼ ԵՅՈԼ ՄՔԿՕԿԻ  
ՆԿԱԶ ԵՏԻՆՐ ԵՔԵԿՐՈՒՄ ԱԿՆՕՒԾ ԵՃԻ ՔՈՒՐԷ ԿՕԿԻ ԵՏՄՕՕԿՏ. ՆԵԿՆՕԿ  
ԱԿԿԻՄ ՄՔԵԿՏՄԱ ԱԿՈՒՐՈՒՄ ՆԵԿԲԱԼ. ԱԿՐ ՈՒՐԷ ՆՕԻ ՆԵՏԶՄՕՕՏ ԶԱԶ-  
ԿԻՏ, ԱԿԻ ԵՕՕԿ ՄՔՆՕԿԵ ՄՔՔԵՏՕԿԱԲ ԱՔԱ ԶԱՐՈՒՆ. ՕԿՄԻՆԻՈՒԷ ԴԷ ԵԿՈՐՕՐԻ 10  
ԶԻՆ ԶԵՆՈՒՆԷ ԵՆԵՓԱԿԵՆՏՕԿ ՈՒՐՕԿ ՆԳՏԱԼՕՕՕԿ, ԵԿՈՐՕՐԻ ՆՕԷ ՆՆԱՓՕՏՕ-  
ԼՕՏ ՆՏԱ ՔՆՕԿԵ ԻՆԱԿ ՆԵՃՅՕԿԻԱ ԵՃԻ ՈՒՆԷ ՆԻՄ.

109. ԱԿՐՈՒՆԷ ԴԷ ՕՆ ԵԻ ՈՒՐՕԿ ՆՕԿԶՕՕԿ ԵԿՆՔ ԵՏՓՈԼԻՏ ՏՕԿԱՆ՝ ԱԿՕՒ  
ԵԿՐԻՆԷ ԶՅՕԿՆ ԵՐՕԿ ԵԿՃՈ ՄՄՕՏ ԴԷ ՕԿՐՈՒՆԷ ՆՐԻՄԱՕ ԵԿԶԻՆ ԿԱՓՈԼԻՏ ԵԻՒՐԷ-  
ՈՏԵԻ ՆԱԿ ՄԻՆԿ ՆԶՕԼՕԿՕՏԻՆՕՏ՝ ՄՔԵԻԶԷ ԵՐՕՕԿ ՆՏԱ{Կ}ԿԱԿ ՆԱԿ, ԱՔԱՐԱ- 15  
ԿԱԼԵԻ ՄՄՕԿ ԴԷ ԶՐՈՒ ՆԶԻՏ ԵԶՐԱԻ ԵՃՈՒ ՆՏԱԿԱԿ ՆԱԿ. ՆՏՕԿ ԴԷ ՄՔԵԿԱՆԷ-  
ԿԵԻ ԱԼԼԱ ԱԿԱՄԱԶԵՏԷ ՄՄՕԻ ԵՏԵՒ քԵԿՐԵՈՒՏԵԻ, ԵԿՕԿՈՒՅ ԵԿԻ ՆՏՕՏ ՄՔԱՄԱ  
ՆԵԼՕՕԼԷ ՆՏԱԿԱԶՕԿ ԶԱ ՆԱԵԻՏԷ ԵՏԻՆԷ ՆՏԿՕԿԻ ՄՔԱՐԱՄԿՕԻԱ ԵՅՈԼ ՆԶԻՏԳ  
46a ԵՏԵՒ ԿԱՅԻՆՈՒՂ ՄԻՆ ՆԱՓՈՒՐԷ | ՆԶԻՏԷ ԱԿՈՒ ԵԻՏ ՆԱԿ ՆՏԵԿՄԻՆՏԷ. ԻՔԱՐԱԿԱ- 20  
ԼԵԻ ՆՏԵԿՄԻՏՔԵՏՕԿԱԲ ԵՏՐԿԻՆՆՕՕԿ ՆԱԿ ՆԳԱՆԵԿԷ ՄՄՕԻ. ՆՏԱ ՕԿԱ ԿԱՐ ԶԻՆ  
ՆԱ ՔԵԿՆԻ ՃՕՕՏ ԵՐՕԻ ԴԷ ԿՆԱԻՏ ԱՆԱԿՆ ԵՐՕԿ ԵՏԵՒ ՔԿԱԻՓԱԼԻՈՆ, ԿՆԱՏՐԿ-  
ԶՈՒ ՆԳԱՓՕՏԱՏՏԷ ՄՔԵԿՄԱ ՆԵԼՕՕԼԷ՝ ԱԿՈՒ ԻՔԻՏԵԿԷ ԴԷ ԵԿՈՒԱՆՏԻՆՆՕՕԿ  
ՆԱԿ ՆԳՆԱՐ ԱՏՏՈՒՆ ՆՏՕԿ ԱՆ.

110. ՆԱԻ ԴԷ ԵԿՃՈ ՄՄՕՕԿ ԵԿՐԻՆԷ, ՆԵԱ ՔՆԱԿ ՆՐՕԿԶԷ ՈՒՒՔ. ՆՏՕԿ ԴԷ  
ԱԿՏՈՒՐՆ ԴԵԿՆԱՅՕԿ ԵՔԵԿՆԻ. ԱՔԱ ԶԱՐՈՒՆ ԴԷ ՆՏԵՐԳՆԱԿ ԵՔԵԿՄԿԱԶ ՆԶԻՏ 25  
ՔԵՃԱԿ ՆԱԿ ԴԷ ԶՄՕՕՏ ՆԱԿ ՄՔԵԻՄԱ ՈՒԱ ԶՏՕՕԿԷ ԴԷ ԱՔՆԱԿ ՍՐՕԿՕՒՏԷ՝ ԱԿՈՒ  
ԱԿԶՄՕՕՏ ԶԻ ԿԱԿՆ ԶԻՅՈԼ. ՔԵՃԷ ՔԱԵԻՈՒՆ ՆԱԻ ԴԷ ՃԻ ՆԱԿ ՆՕԿՕԵԻԿ ՄԻՆ ՕԿՄՕՕԿ  
ՆԳՏԱԿ ՆԱԿ ՆԳՃՕՕՏ ՆԱԿ ԴԷ ԶՄՕՕՏ ՆԱԿ ՈՒԱ ԶՏՕՕԿԷ ԱԿՈՒ ՔՆՕԿԵ ՆԱՅՈՒ-  
ՔԵԻ ԵՐՕԿ. ԱՆՕԿ ԴԷ ԱԵԻՐԷ ԿԱՏԱ ՔԷ ՆՏԱԿՃՕՕՏ ՆԱԻ ԱԿՈՒ ՄՔԷ ՍՐՈՒՆ ԵԿՈՒՅ  
ԵՃԻ ԻՔԷ ՄԱԿԱԿ ԵՏԵՒ ԿԼԿՔԵԻ ԱԿՈՒ ԱԻՅՕԿ ԱԿՏԱՄԷ ՔԱԵԻՈՒՆ՝ ԱԿԵԻ ԵՅՈԼ ՈՒՐՕԿ 30  
ՔԵՃԱԿ ՆԱԿ ԴԷ ՄՔՐՐ ԱՏՏՈՒՆ, ՔԱՓՈՒՐԷ, ԿՈՒՐՆ ՆԳՕԿՈՒ ՆՕԿԿՕԿԻ Ն[Օ]ԵԻԿ  
46b ԱԿՈՒ ԻՔԻՏԵԿԷ [ԴԷ] ՔՆՕԿԵՆ ՆԱՅՈՒՔԵԻ ԵՐՕԿ. | ԱԿՈՒ ԿԱԻ ԿԷ ՔԷ ՆՏԱԿԵՓՈՒՔ  
ՄՄՕԿ՝ ԱԿՏ[ՈՒ]ՐՆ ԱԿՕԿՈՒՆ.

2 πιστις ms. 4 ջօօօ Budge 16 ՆԱԿ ms. 17 read քԵԿՐԵՈՒՏ 18 ՄՔԿՕԿԻ ms.



5:27). Moreover, our Lord said to the imperial official: ‘Go, your child lives’ (John 4:50). He gave him neither gold nor silver. As for you, if you have faith, you will obtain the gift of Christ”. They answered, “We believe, our holy father, that Christ will fulfill everything that you will tell us”.

108. The father of the little boy took some earth from near the door of his dwelling and tied it up into his cloak. And when they arrived at the house, they found a large crowd gathered around his wife and her son. His father unfolded the small amount of earth that was tied up in his cloak and sprinkled it over the little dead boy. Immediately he moved his body and opened his eyes. Those who were sitting beside her were amazed and glorified the God of the holy Apa Aaron. And a multitude of people suffering from diseases were brought to him and he healed them, similar to the apostles whom God gave authority over every illness.

### The Miracle of the Poor Man and the Rich Man

109. One day a man came to him who was from the city of Aswan. He continued to cry before him, saying, “I owe ten *holokottinoi* to a rich man in my city and I have not found the means to pay him back. I have begged him, ‘Be patient with me and I shall pay you back’. But he would not agree and has held me liable for the debt owed to him. He wants to take from me my vineyard which I inherited from my parents and from which I make a small profit for my livelihood and that of my poor children and pay him his interest. I beg your Holiness to send him a message that he may have patience with me. For someone from his household told me, ‘He is going to press you for the amount and make you liable so that you have to give up your vineyard’. I believe that if you send him a message, he will not be disobedient to you”.

110. As he was saying these things, weeping all the time, evening fell. He rose to go home but when Apa Aaron saw his distress he said to him, “Stay here until the morning, for it has turned late”. And he stayed in the outer court. My father said to me, “Take some bread and water, give them to him and say to him, ‘Stay here until the morning and God will help you’”. I did as he told me but the man did not want to taste anything because of his sadness. So I went and informed my father. He came out and said to him, “Do not be disobedient, my son. Rise and eat a bit of bread, and I believe that God will help you”. Thus he was able to persuade him, and he rose and ate.

111. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΠΕ,  
 ΑΦΕΡ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡῚ ΕΦСОПСῚ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΦΩΛΗΛ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ. ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΕΡῚΩΩΠΕ ΑΠΡΩΜΕ ΩΠΝΕ ΝСА ВΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΗ. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ  
 ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ῚΩ ΝΑΚ ḲΚΕΚΟΥῚ ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΚΗΙ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΚΖΗ`Τ` ΜΟΤḲ. ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΠΑΤΕ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΟΥΩ{Ζ} ΖḲ ΡΩΦ, ΕΙC ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΡḲΜΑΟ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΦΤΑΛΛΗΥ ΕΥΕΙΩ, 5  
 ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΡΕ ΚΕCΝΑΥ ḲΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΗΗΖ ΝCΩΦ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΟΕΙΤ ΖΗΤῚ ΩΑ  
 ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC, ΕΡΕ ΝΕΦΒΑΛ ΟΥΩΗ ΝḲΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΗ. ΑΦΠΑΖΤῚ ΑΦΟΥΩΩΤῚ ΕΧḲ  
 ΝΟΥΡΗΗΤΕ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ. ΑΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ḲΜΟΦ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΡΑΙ` ΕΙΤΑ ΠΕΧΕ  
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΚCΩΤḲ ΕΠΝΟΜΟC ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΟΥ; ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΕ-  
 ΠΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΛΑΔΥ ḲḲΚΑ ḲΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΖḲ ΠΕΦΗΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΕΦCΩΩΕ ΟΥΔΕ 10  
 ΠΕΦΤḲΒΗΗ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕΦΜΑ ḲΧΟΕΙΤ. [†]ΖΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΝΧΟΟΥ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΩCῚ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ Ε . . . . ΠΕΧΑΦ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΙ ḲḲΕΤῚΩΩΠΕ  
 47a ΝΟΥΗΙ | ΕΥΗΙ, ΕΤῚΩῚΕ ḲΟΥCΩΩΕ ΕΥCΩΩΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΦΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΟΥ. ΠΕΙ-  
 ΩΑΧΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΟΥΟΝῚ ΜΠΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥΗ ΟΥΗΟC ḲΚΟΛΑCΙC ῚΕΕΤ ΕΠΕΤΝΑ-  
 ΕΠΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΝΕΝΚΑ ΜΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΦ, ΧΙΗ ΟΥΗΟC ΩΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΥΚΟΥῚ ΝΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟΗ. 15  
 ΕΦΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΝ ΝῚ ΠC(ΩΤ)ΗΡ ΧΕ ΝΑΙΔΤΟΥ ḲḲḲΑΗΤ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΟΥΗΑΝΑ  
 ΝΑΥ. ΕΙΤΑ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΠΝΑ ΩΑΦΟΥΟΥΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΙΧḲ ΤΕΚΡΙCΙC.

112. ΝΑ ΜΠΕΠΜΑ, ΠΑΩΗΡΕ, ΤΑΡΟΥΝΑ ΝΑΚ ΖḲ ΠΚΕΜΑ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΦ.  
 ΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΑΚ ΕΤΡῚΩḲ ΖΤΗΚ ΖΑ ΠΖΗΚΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΤḲḲῚΤΕΒΗΗ ΝΝΗΝΕΥΗ ΠΑΤΝΑ  
 ΤΑΖΟΚ` ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ΟΥΑΤΝΑ ΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΝΑ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ 20  
 ΠΝΑ ΩΑΦΟΥΟΥΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΙΧḲ ΤΕΚΡΙCΙC. ΜΗ ΜΠΕΚCΩΤḲ ΕΤΒΕ ΑΧΑΒ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ  
 ΟΥ ΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΤΕΡῚΕΠΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ḲḲΑΒΟΥΘΑΙ ΠΙCΡΑΕΙΛΗΤΗC;

113. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡῚΧΟΟΥ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΡḲΜΑΟ ΝῚ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Η),  
 ΑΦΟΥΩΩḲ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΑ ΝΑΙ, ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΕΤΖΑ ΕΟΟΥ, ΝῚCΟΠCῚ  
 ΜΠΕΧΡ(ΙCΤΟ)C ΖΑΡΟΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΚΑΚΕ ΛΟ ΜΝΑΥ ΖΙΧḲ ΝΑΒΑΛ ΑΥΩ ḲḲḲΑΡ 25  
 ΑΤCΩΤḲ ΝCΩΚ ΑḲ ΖḲ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΖΩΒ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΦ | ΧΕ ΕΚΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ  
 47b ΟΥΗ ῚΟΗ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΡ ΠΑΙ; ΑΦΟΥΩΩḲ ΧΕ CΕ ΤΩΗΟΥ, Ω ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΛΟΙ-  
 ΠΟΗ CΩΤḲ ΕΡΟΙ ḲḲΑΧΩ ΕΤΕΚΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ. ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΖḲ  
 ΠΤΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΩΑΧΕ ḲḲΜΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ ВΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ΝCΑΦ, ΑΙВΩΚ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΑΗῚ ΑḲḲΟΤῚ ΑΙΝΕΖCΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ḲḲΕΥΩΗ ΑΙΔΙCΘΑΝΕ ΕΠΕΙΝΟC ḲΚΑΚΕ 30  
 ΖΙΧḲ ΝΑΒΑΛ` ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ḲḲΑΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΝḲḲΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΑΗ ΜΠΟΟΥ. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΝΤΩC ΝΤΑ ΠΑΙ ΤΑΖΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΠΕΤ-  
 ΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΗ. ΑΗΝΑΥ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΚΩΑΧΕ ΝḲḲΑΦ ΝCΑΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΜΝΟΥΒ  
 ΝΤΑΦΒΩΚ ΩΑΡΟΦ. ΝΤΕΡΕΙCΩΤḲ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΩΑ ΤΕΚḲḲḲΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΑΙΕΙΜΕ  
 ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΤΑΖΟΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ, ΑΙΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΚ ΖΩΩΤ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ †ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ 35  
 ΟΥΗ ῚΟΗ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΑΛῚΟΙ.

14 read ούωνῚ

111. The holy Apa Aaron rose and went to the upper floor. He spent the whole night entreating God and praying for him. When morning came, the man intended to go home but the holy Apa Aaron said to him, "Stay a little longer. You will go home with your mind at ease". And before the word had left his mouth, the rich man came riding on a donkey that was being led while two other men attended to him and guided him towards the righteous one. And his eyes were open but he could not see. He fell down in reverence at the feet of my father. He grabbed him and raised him up. Then the holy man said to him, "Have you not heard what the law says: 'You shall not covet any of your neighbour's possessions, neither (anything) from his house or his field or his animal or his vineyard or his olive garden' (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21)? I stop here so as not to name them all and prolong the speech excessively. It also says: 'Woe to those who join house to house, who link field to field, in order to take from their neighbour' (Isa. 5:8). This word 'woe' makes it clear that severe punishment awaits the one who covets his neighbour's possessions, be they large or small and insignificant. Moreover, the Saviour cries out: 'Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy' (Matt. 5:7). And again: 'Mercy prevails over judgement' (Jas. 2:13).

112. Be merciful in this world, my son, and you will be shown mercy in the other world, where you will be going. It is good for you to have compassion on the poor so that the misery of merciless Nineveh will not become yours (cf. Luke 16:19–31). For 'judgement is merciless for the one who has not shown mercy' (Jas. 2:13). And again: 'Mercy prevails over judgement' (Jas. 2:13). Have you not heard about Ahab and what happened to him when he coveted the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite (cf. 1 Kgs. 21, 22:34–38)?

113. When the holy Apa Aaron had said these words to the rich man, he answered, saying, "Have mercy on me, glorious righteous one, and entreat Christ for me that this darkness disappears from my eyes. And I shall not be disobedient to you in anything". The holy man said to him, "Do you believe that it is possible for me to do this?" He answered, "Yes, indeed, my holy father. Now listen to me and I shall tell your Charity what happened to me. It happened that when the man about whom you are talking with me left me yesterday I went home. I went to bed and woke up in the night. And I noticed this great darkness over my eyes. When morning came, I told my people, 'I am unable to see today'. They said to me, 'For sure, this has happened to you because of the holy Apa Aaron. We saw the man with whom you talked about the money yesterday go to him'. When I heard that he had gone to your Holiness, I realized that this happened to me because of him and I too came to you. That is why I believe that you are able to heal me".

114. ԲԵՃԷ ՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ՆԱԳ ՃԷ ԵԿԾԱՆՐ ՍՈՒ ՄՆ ՍՅՈՒՄԷ, ԲԵՃ(ՐԻՏՈ)Տ  
 ՋՈՎ ՆԱԴԱԼՏՈՒ. ԳՄՈՅԴԵ ԵՕԿԱ ՆՆԵՏՄՈՍԾԷ ՆՄԱԳ ԳԽԻ ՄՔԵՐԱՄ-  
 ՄԱԺՈՒ ՆՏՈՒՏԻ ԳԴԱԳ ՄՍԻԿԱԻՍ ԲՍԱ ՋԱՐՈՒ. ԲԵՃԷ ՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ԲՍԱ  
 48a ՋԱՐՈՒ [ՆԱԳ] ՃԷ Ե . . . . ԿԱԳ . . ՍՅՈՒՄԷ [ - - - ] | ՋՄ ՍԵԻՍՄՈՍ, ՆԳԻ ՆԱԿ  
 ՄՔԵՐԵԵԿԷ ՋՄ ՍԵԻԴՈՒ ԵՏՈՒԿ. ՆԵՅՆՈՅ ԳԿՓՐԱԴԻԶԷ ՆՆԵԿՅԱԼ ԳՄՈՅԴԵ 5  
 ԵՐՈՒ ԲԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ՃԷ ԲՆԻՆԷ ՆԻԼԱԿՈՒՄ ՄՄՈՅ՝ ԳՎՈ ԲԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԳ ՃԷ ԵԻԱ ՍԵՐՋՈ  
 ՋՆ ՕԿՍԻՏԻՍ. ՆԵՅՆՈՅ ԴԷ ՆԴԱԿԵԻՍ ՄՍԵԿՋՈ ԳԿՆԱԿ ԵՅՈՒ՝ ԳՐՔ ՍՍՈՒՐԷ ՆՏԻ  
 ՆԵՏՋԱՏՏԻԿ ԳԿԻ ԵՕՅ ՄՍՈՅԴԷ. ԳԴՏՈՅՆ ԳԿՕԿՈՎԻ ՄՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ԲՍԱ  
 ՋԱՐՈՒ ԵԿՈՒ ՋՄՈՒ ՄՍՈՅԴԷ ՆՄԱԳ ԵՃՄ ՍԵԿՆԱԿ ԵՅՈՒ.
115. ՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ԴԷ ԳԴԻ ՄՔԵՐԱՄՄԱԺՈՒ ՄՍՐՈՄԷ ՍՅՈՒՄԷ, ԳԿՋՈՒ 10  
 ԵՏՈՒՏԻ ԵԿՃՈ ՄՄՈՍ ՃԷ ՆՏՈՒ ՋՈՎ, ԲՐ ՍՈՒ ՄՆ ՍԵՏՅԻՏՕԿՈՒ ՆՅԷ  
 ՆԴԱԿԱԳ ՆՄԱԿ՝ ՄՍՈՒԴԷ ՆԴՃՕ՝Օ՝Ս ՃԷ ԲՆԻ՝ ՕՅՈՒՄԷ, ՄՆ ՏՈՒ ՄՄՈՒ ԵՐ  
 ՏԵՆՏՈՒ ՄՍԵԿԱԴԵԼԻՈՒ. ՄՍԷ ՍԵԿԱԴԵԼԻՈՒ ՍԵՃՄ ԼԱԳ ՆՈՒՏԷ ՆԱԿ, Ս  
 ՍՅՈՒՄԷ, ԵՏՐԿՃՈՍ՝ ԲԼԼԱ ՍՐԱԻ ԵՃՃ ՄՄՈՅ ՆՐՄՈՒ ՍՈՅԴԷ ՆԱԺ ԵԵԿԷ  
 ՆԱԿ ՋԱՐՈՒ. ՄՍՐՔ ՅԷ ՄՍՅՄՋԱԼ ՆԱՏՍԱԿ ՆԴԱ ՍԵԿՃՕԵԻՍ ԿԱ ՋԱՋ ՆՏԻՆՏՐ  
 15 ՆԱԳ ԵՅՈՒ ԳԿՅՈՒ, ԳԿՍՏԻ ՄՍԵԿՈՅՆ ԳՄՋԱԼ ԵՏԵ ՋԵՆԿՕՅԷ ԵՏԵՐՈՒ՝ ԲԼԼԱ  
 48b ՍՍՍԷ ՆՏՈՒ ՆՅԷ ՄՍՅՄՋԱԼ ՆՏԱԵ ՆԴ[Ա] ՍԵԿՏԻՆՏՐ ՏՈՒ ՆԱԳ. | ԳԿՕԿՈՎԻ  
 ՆՏԻ ՍՐՈՄԷ ՆՅՈՒՄԷ ՃԷ ՍԼ՝Ն՝ԵՃՈՒ, ՍԵԻՏՏԵՐՈՒՄ ԵՏՕԿԱՅ, ԳՎՈ ՎՆԱՋԱՐԵՋ ԵՋՈՒ  
 ՆՄ ՆՏԱԿՋՈՒՅ ԵՏՈՒ՝ ԳՎՈ ՏԱԻ ՏԷ ՅԷ ՆԴԱԿԻ ՋՈՒ ՄՍԵՏՆԱԿ, ԳՅՈՒ ԵՅՈՒ  
 ՋԻՏՈՒՏԻ ԵԿԻ ԵՕՅ ՄՍՈՅԴԷ. 20
116. ՍՐՄԱՕ ԴԷ ՆԵՐԿՅՈՒ ԵՍԵԿՆԻ ԳԿՃՈ ԵՆԵԿՐՈՄԷ ՆՋՈՒ ՆՏԱԿ-  
 ՍՍՍԷ ՄՄՈՒ. ՆԵՂՆ ՕՅՐՈՄԷ ԴԷ ՕՆ ՋՄ ՍԵԿՆԻ ԵՐԷ ՆԵԿՕՅՐՈՒՄԷ ՎՏԱՍ ԵՐՈՒ  
 ՆՕՂՈՍ ՆՕՂՕԵԻՍ. ՆԵՐԿՏՈՒՄ ԵՆԵՍՍՈՒՐԷ ԵՏԵՐԷ ՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ԵՐԷ ՄՄՈՅ  
 ԲԵՃԱԳ ՃԷ ՋԱՄՈՒ ԵՆԷ ԲՈՒ ՍԵՆՏԱԻՄՍՈՒ ՆԱՍԱՆՏԱ ԵՐՈՒ, ՆԳՆԱ ՋԱ ՏԱՆՆԻՏ-  
 25 ԵՅՈՒՄ ՏԱՄԱՏԷ ՄՍԴԱԼՏՈ. ԲԵՃԱԳ ՆՏԻ ՍՐՈՄԷ ԵՏԻ՝ ՏԱՍ ՄՍՐՈՄԷ ՆՐՄԱՕ  
 ՃԷ ՄՍԷ ԲՍԱ ՋԱՐՈՒ ՃՈՋ ԵԼԱԳ ՄՄԵԼՈՍ ՆԴԱԿ; ԲԵՃԱԳ ՃԷ ԴՅԷ, ԳԿՃՈՋ  
 ԵՆԱՏԻՃ ԳՎՈ ԲՍԱՋԻ՝ ՋԱՐԱՏԻ, ԲԻՏԱԼՈ ՆՆԱՏԻՃ ԵՃՄ ՆԵԿՕՅՐՈՒՄԷ ԲԻՕԿՈՎԻ  
 ՆԱԳ. ԲԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԳ ՃԷ ԲՐ ՏԱԴԱՍՆ ՆԴՅՆԻՏԷ ԵՋՈՒՆ [Ե]ՐՈՒ. ՆԵՐԿՋՈՒ ԴԷ  
 ԵՋՈՒՆ ԵՐՈՒ ԳԿ[ԱՆԱ]ՋԴԷ ՆԵԿՏԻՃ ԳԿՏՈՍԷ ԵՆԵԿՕԿ[ՐՈՒ]ՏԷ ԵԿՃՈ ՄՄՈՍ ՃԷ  
 ՎՏԻՏԵԿԷ ՃԷ ՆՏԻՃ ՆԴԱՃՃՈՋ ԵՍՊԵՏՕԿԱՅ ԲՍԱ ՋԱՐՈՒ ԵԿՈՒՄՃՈՋ ԵՐՈՒ  
 30 48a ՆԱԿԱ[ՐԻԶԷ ՆԱԻ] | ՄՍԴԱԼՏՈ. ԳՎՈ ՏԱԻ ՏԷ ՅԷ ՆԴԱ ՆԵԿՕՅՐՈՒՄԷ ԼՕ ԵԿԻ՝ ՏԱՍ  
 ՃԻՆ ՏԵՅՆՈՅ ԵՏՄԱԿ՝ ԳՎՈ ՕՅՈՒ ՆՄ ՆԴԱԿՏՈՒՄ ԳԿԻ ԵՕՅ ՄՍՈՅԴԷ ՆԱՍԱ  
 ՋԱՐՈՒ.

2 ՆՆԵՏՄՈՍԾԷ ms. 5 ՆՆԵԿՅԱԼ ms. 13 ՍԼՃՄ ms. 17 read կՈՅ 24 ԵՆԷ: ԵԻԷ ms. 28  
 ԲԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԻ ms.

114. The holy man said to him, “If you show mercy to the poor man, Christ himself will heal you”. He called one of those who accompanied him, took the contract from him and gave it to the righteous Apa Aaron. The holy Apa Aaron said to him, “[...] let it [...] the poor [...] in this world, and he will give you your reward in the world that is to come”. Immediately he made the sign of the cross over his eyes, called me and said, “Bring that basin of water”. He said to him, “Wash your face in faith”. And as soon as he washed his face, he was able to see. Those who were with him were amazed and glorified God. He rose and paid homage to the holy Apa Aaron, while rendering thanks to God and him for his ability to see.

115. The holy man gave the contract to the poor man and commanded him, saying, “You, too, must show mercy to your neighbour, just as has been done to you, and never say, ‘I am poor and unable to keep the commandment of the Gospel’. The Gospel has left you, poor man, no excuse whatsoever to come up with. But even for a cup of cold water God will reward you (cf. Matt. 10:42). Do not act like the worthless servant whose lord forgave him a debt of many talents. He went and squeezed his fellow servant for the little that he owed him (cf. Matt. 18:23–34). Rather behave like the wise servant whose talent was doubled (cf. Matt. 25:14–30)”. The poor man answered, “Pray for me, my holy father, and I shall observe everything that you commanded me”. And in this way both men profited and they left him, glorifying God.

### The Miracle of the Man with Gout

116. When the rich man went home, he told his people everything that had happened to him. Now there was a man in his household whose feet had been painful for a long time. When he heard about the miracles that the holy man performed, he said, “If only I would have been worthy to meet him, he would have shown mercy on my misery and I would have been healed”. And the man who suffered pain said to the rich man, “Did Apa Aaron not touch some part of your body?” He said, “Yes, he touched my hands. I fell down before him, placed my hands upon his feet and paid homage to him”. He said to him, “Please, come close to me”. When he had come near to him, he took his hand and pressed it upon his feet, saying, “I believe that the hands that touched the holy Apa Aaron, when they touch me, will grant me healing”. Thus his feet stopped being painful from that moment onwards. And everyone who heard about it glorified the God of Apa Aaron.

117. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ Ζῆ ΠΙΛΑΚ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΗΔΥ ΝΟΥΕΙΩ ΕΦῚ ΖΩΒ  
 ἸΖΗΤῚ Ζῆ ΠΟΥΕΙΤ. ΝΤΕΡῒΕΙ ΔΕ ΧΕΦΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΗΙ ΑΠΕΙΩ ΖΕ ΖΑΡΑΤῚ  
 ΜΠΟ(Υ)ΕΙΤ ΑΦΜΟΥ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΦΝΟΦ ΜΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΑΦΚΑ  
 ΠΕΙΩ ΕΦΗΝΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΜΟΥΤ, ΑΦΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΑΦΤΑΥΕ ΘΕ ΕΡΟΥ. ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΜΟΥ, ΠΑΩΗΡΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΟ ΗΚΝΑΔΥ. ΑΦΤ ΝΑΥ ἸΟΥΦΕΡΩΒ 5  
 ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΒΩΚ ΝῖΡΑΖΤῚ ἸΖΗΤῚ {ἸΖΗΤῚ} ΝΩΟΜῆΤ ΝΣΟΠ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑ-  
 ΤΩΟΥΝ. ΑΦΧΙΤῚ ΔΕ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΑΦΡΑΖΤῚ ΝΖΗΤῚ ΝΩΟΜῆΤ ΝΣΟΠ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦ-  
 ΔΑΖΕΡΑΤῚ ἸΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΟ ΜΜΟΣ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΩΑ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΥ-  
 ΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΝΑΚ, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΖΟΙ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΦΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤῚ  
 ΕΤῆΧΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΛΑΔΥ. ΜΠῚΤΡΕ ΛΑΔΥ Γ[Α]Ρ Ὶ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΝΕΙΩΔΑΧΕ ΚΑΙ 10  
 ΓΑΡ ΑΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Π[Ε]Τ[ΠΙΣΤΕ]ΥΕ ΕΡῚ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤ(ΕΙ)ΡΕ Μ[ΜΟΥ] |  
 ΠΑΙ ΖΩΩΥ ΦΝΑΔΥ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑῖ ΝΕΤΝΑΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ.

118. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΥ, ΠΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ, ΕΝΕΦῚ ΖΩΒ ΕΝΕΦΟΙΧ  
 ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΤΣΗΖ ΧΕ ΑΝῚ ΖΩΒ ἸΒΙΧ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ Μῆ  
 ΤΕΥΩΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΝΟΥΕΖ ΖΙΣΕ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΩΤῆ. ΖΕΝΣΟΠ ΜΕΝ ΝῖΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΖΕΝΚΥ- 15  
 ΡΙΑ, ΖΕΝΣΟΠ ΜΕ(Ν) ΕΦΩΕΩ ΝΟΥΖ. ΕΝΕΜΕΦΘΕΠΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΩΔΑΧΕ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΤΕ  
 ΟΥΝΟΦ Ν{Ρ}ΧΡΙΑ ΩΩΠΕ. ΑΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ ΑΦΩΠῖ ΝΟΥΖ ΝΤΟΟΤῚ  
 ΕΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΜΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ. ΠΜΑ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΔΕ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΕΝΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΘΕΛΜΑ  
 ΧΑΧΩ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ. ἸΤΕΡῚΧΙ ΔΕ ΝῆΝΟΥΖ ἸΤΟΟΤῚ ΑΦΜΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ἸΕΛΟΟΛΕ,  
 ΑΦΩΩΠΕ ἸΟΥΓΕΝΗΜΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΩΤῆ ΑΥΤ ΕΟΥΥ 20  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΓΕ.

119. ΑΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΒΟΥΖΕ ΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ ΕΥΜΟΚῚ ΝΖΗΤῚ. ΑΥΠΑ-  
 ΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝῖΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ ΧΕ ΣΕΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ ΝΑΝ ΖΙΤ(ῆ)  
 ΟΥΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΖΕΝΑΩΗ ΝΤῖΤ ΑΥΩ ἸΠΕΝΣΙΝΕ ΕΤ ΝΑΥ, ΕΝῚ ΖΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΦΖΟΡΙΖΕ 25  
 ΕΧΩΝ ΝῖΩΔΑΤῆ ΝΟΥΟΣΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤῆΘῚ. ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤῆ-  
 ΒΗΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΕΣΙΑ ἸΤΕΤΝ . . . [ - - - ]; ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΥ]ΧΟΡΟΣ [Μ] ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΧΕ 30  
 ΝΟΥΧΕ ΜΠΕΩΠΗ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΧΟΙ, ΤΕΤΝΑΖΕ ΕΟΥΟΝ. ΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΣΑ  
 ΖΒΟΥΡ ΑΛΛΑ ἸΣΑ ΟΥΝΑΜ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΚΩ ΝΣΩΥ ΜῖΜΕΕΥΕ  
 Ε{Τ}ΘΟΥ, ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΕ {ΝΕ} ΝΕΤΖΙ ΖΒΟΥΡ, ΝῖΡ ΝΕΤΖΙ ΟΥΝΑΜ, ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΑ-  
 ΝΟΥΥ ΝΕ, ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΦΝΑΔΑΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΥΥ ΝΤῆ ΠΝΟΥΓΕ ΣΕΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ.

5 read ΝΧΝΑΔΥ 13 ΖΩΩΥ: Ζ corr. < ?

### The Miracle of the Donkey

117. There was a man in Philae who owned a donkey with which he worked in *poueit* (?). When he was about to go home, the donkey fell at the foot of *poueit* (?) and died. But on account of his great faith in the righteous one he left the donkey lying dead, went to him and told him the situation. The righteous one said to him, "He has not died, my son, but he is sluggish". He gave him a staff and said, "Go, hit him three times with it and he will stand up". He took it, went and hit him three times with it. It got up and stood as it had done before. The man went to my father and said, "I thank you, my father, for the favour that has been shown to me". But he ordered him not to tell anyone what had happened. Indeed, let no one disbelieve these words, for our Saviour has said: "The one who believes in me will also do the things that I do and will (even) do things that are greater than these" (John 14:12).

### The Miracle of the Vineyard

118. The holy Apa Aaron himself did much work with his hands, mindful of what is written: "We worked with our hands day and night, in order not to burden any of you" (1 Thess. 2:9). Sometimes he made bandages, at other times he plaited rope. Indeed, he would not be in a hurry to speak unless there was some great urgency. Once a man came to him and bought rope from him for use in his vineyard. Now the vintage of this vineyard was very rough. When he received the ropes from him, he bound them to his vineyard and it yielded a very good produce. And those who heard about it glorified God.

### The Miracle of the Fishermen and Two Further Miracles

119. Once some fishermen came to him in distress and implored him, "Please pray for us, for we are harassed by a magistrate for large numbers of fish and we have not found a way to deliver them to him. We fear that he will hold us liable and exact a fine from us that is beyond our means". My father said to them, "Do you not go to church in order to [...] For he has said to Peter: 'Cast the net on the right side of the boat and you will find some' (John 21:6). He did not say 'on the left side' but 'on the right side', which means that when someone forsakes evil thoughts, which are those that are on the left, and cultivates those that are on the right, which are the good ones, he will obtain everything that he will ask for from God.

120. ԳՃԾ ԳԱՐ ՄՈՍ ՆԴՅԵ ՄՆԵՏԻ ԶՅՕՐ ԺԵ ՏԱՅԵ ԿԻՄՆ ԵՅՈԼ ՄՈԻ,  
 ՆԵՏՇՅՕՐԻՒՄ, ԵՏՏԱԴԵ ՈՊԱ ԵՆԵՂ ՆԴԱՅՇԵՏԻՄՈՒՄ ԻՍԼԱԲՈԼՈՍ ՄՆ ՈԳԱԴԵ-  
 ԼՈՍ՝ ՆԵՏԻ ՕԿՆԱՄ ԶՈՎ ԺԵ ԱՄԻՆԻՒ ՊԱՐՈԻ, ՆԵՏՄԱՄԱԶԱՏ ՆԵ ՍԱԵԻՄՈՒՄ  
 ԱՂՈ ՕՆ ԺԵ ԱՄԻՆԻՒ ՊԱՐՈԻ, ՕԿՈՆ ՄԻՄ ԵՏՅՕՍԵ ԱՂՈ ԵՏՕՏԻ, ԱՂՈ ԱՆՈՔ ԻՆԱԻ  
 ՄՏՈՆ ՄԻՆԻՒՄ՝ ԱՂՈ ՕՆ ԺԵ ԵՏՆԱԿԼԻՐՈՆՈՄԵԻ ՆԴԻՆԵՐՈ ՆԴԱՅՇԵՏԻՄՈՒՄ ՆԻՆԻ 5  
 ԺԻՆ ԿԿԱՏԱՅՈԼՆ ԻՍԿՈՍՄՈՍ. ԵՏԵ ՕԿ; ՍԵՃԱԳ ԺԵ ՆԵԻՅԿՈԵԻՏ ԱԵՏԻՆԻՄՈԻ,  
 ՆԵԻՅԵ ԱԵՏԻՆԻՄՈԻ, ՆԵԻՅԵ ԱՂԻՂ ԱԵՏԻՆԻՒ ԶԻՄՈՒՄ, ՆԵԻՅԵ ՈՊՄՈՍ ԱԵՏԻՆԻՄՈԻ  
 ԵՐՈՒՄ, ՆԵԻՄՈՍ ԱԵՏԻՆԻՄ ՍԱՄԻՆԵ, ՆԵԻՂ ՍԵՄԵՏԵՔՈ ԱԵՏԻՆԵԻ ՊԱՐՈԻ. ՆԱԻ  
 ՆԵ ՆԵՐԱՅԻՍ ԵՊԱՂԻՄ ԻՄՐՈՄԵ ԵՍԱ ՈՂՆԱՄ. | ՆԴՈՒՄ ԶՈՒ ԿԻՄՆ ԵՏԻՆԻ-  
 50b ԱԶ ԵՏՆԱՇՈՍԵ ՆԶԵՆԱԴՆ ՆԴԵՒ ԿԱՏԱ ԵՏԻՆԻՄ. 10
121. ՆԴՕՕՂ ԺԵ ՍԵՃԱԳ ԺԵ ՊԵ ՍԵՔՕՂԻ, Ո ՍԱԵԻՄՈՒՄ ԵՏՕԴԱԲ, ԵՏԵ ԿԻՆԻՏ-  
 ԶԻՅԵ ՄՆ ՇԵՐԳԵ ԵՅՈՔ ԵՏԵԿԼԻՍԻԱ ԻՍԿԱՅՅԱՏՈՆ ՄՆ ԿԿՐԻԱԿՆ. ՍԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԿ  
 ԺԵ ՄՆ ՍԵԼՃՈՍ ՆԻՆԻՒ ԺԵ ՆԵՏԻՆԻՅԻՅԵ ԱՆ ԵՏԵԿԼԻՍԻԱ ԻՍՈՂԵ ՆԵՏԻՆԻՍԱ-  
 ՐԱԿԱԼԵԻ ՄՈՂ ՆՂՐ ՍՆԱ ՄՆԻՆԻՒ ՆՂԻՅԻՅԵ ԿԻՄՆ ԵՏԻՆԻՄԱՏ ՆԼԱԶ; ՊԵ  
 ԳԱՐ ԵՐԻՍԻԱՆՈՍ ՄԻՄ ԵՊՐՈՂ ԵՍԻ ՍՈՂԵՒԵ ՆՇԵՍԻՍՈՒՄ ՆՇՇՈՒՄ ԻՍԵՂ-  
 15 ԶՈՅ ՆՇԻՅ.
122. ՆԴՕՕՂ ԺԵ ԱՂՕՂՈՒՄ ԶԱ ՍԵՔՕՐԻՆԻՅԵ ԵՂՃՈ ՄՈՍ ԺԵ ՈՂԼ ԵՂՈՆ,  
 ՍԵՆԵԻՄՈՒՄ ԵՏՕԴԱԲ, ԱՂՈ ԿՆԱԶԱՐԵՂ ԵՆԵՔԱՅԵ ԿԻՐՕՂ. ԱՂՈ ԿԱԻ ԵՅ  
 ՆԴԱՂՈՂԼ ԵՂՈՂԱԳԻՒ ՆԱԿ ՈՂՇԱՍԵԻ ՄՈՂ ԺԵ ՇՈՒՅՈՂ ԵՂՆ ՆԵՏԻՆԻՅԵ  
 ԱՂՈ ԵՏՆԱՅԵ ԵՕՂՈՆ. ՆԴՕՕՂ ԺԵ ԱՂՅՈՔ ԶՆ ՕՂԻՍԿԻՍ ԱՂՈՍԵ ՆԶԵՆԱԴՆ 20  
 ՆԴԵՒ ԱՂԻ ՆԵՒՐԻԱ ԻՍԱՐՔՈՆ ՆԱԳ, ԱՂԻ ՍԵՇԵՍԵ ԵՒՐԻԱ ԻՍԵՂԻ. ԱՂԵ ՈՂ  
 ՍԼԻԱԿԻՍ ԵՂԵՂԱՐԻՍԵԻ ՍՈՂԵՒԵ ՄՆ ՍԵՔՈՂԼ ԵՏՕԴԱԲ. ՕՂՈՍԵ ԺԵ ՕՆ  
 ՆԱՆՕՂԱ ԶԵԻՆԵ ՈՂՐՈՂ ԻՍԵՔՈՒՐԵ ԵՂՈՍԵ ԶՆ [ - - - Ն ] ԿԵՂՈՂ. ԿԵՂԱ  
 51a ԺԵ ՕՆ ԵԱ ՍԵՔՈՒ ԿՆԱԵՆԵՂԵ ԱՂՈ ԶՆ ՍԴՐԵՍԻԱԿԱԼԵԻ ՍՈՂԵՒԵ ԶՆ ՍԵՔՐԱՆ,  
 ԱՍԵՔՈՒ ԿՕՂՃՈ ՄՆ ՍԵՔԱՂԵԻՆ ԿԻՐՕ. 25
123. ԱՇՈՍԵ ԺԵ ՕՆ ՆՕՂՅՕՂ ԵՂՈՍԵ ՄՆ ՍԵՂԵՐԻՂ ՆՇԻ ԱՆՕՂԱ ՏՆԱԿ  
 ԵՂՆԱՅՈՔ ԵՕՂԱՆ. ՍՕԴԱ ԺԵ ԵՅՈԼ ՆՂԻՆՕՂ ՕՂՅԱԼ ՈՂՈՒՄ ՍԵՏԻՄՈՂ. ՍԵՅԵ  
 ՍԵՔՈՒՐ ՆԱԳ ԺԵ ԱՆՕՂ ՆԴԻՅԻ ՏՈՂ ՆԴՕՒՂ ԻՍԵՆՈՍ ՆՐՈՍԵ. ՍԵՅԵ ՍԱ  
 ՍՅԱԼ ՆՕՂՈՒՄ ԺԵ ՕՂՆՈՍ ՆՐՈՍԵ ԱՆ ՍԵՂ ԵՂԵ ԵՂԵ, ՄԱՐՂՕՂՈՆ ՍՅԱՅԱԼ՝  
 ԱՂՈ ՍՅԱԵ ՍՅԱՅԵ ՕՂՈ ԶՆ ՐՈՂ ԱՍԵՅԱԼ ԵՏՈ ՆՅԼԼԵ ՆԱԿ ԵՅՈԼ, ԱՍԵՒ- 30  
 ՆԱԿ ԵՅՈԼ ՐՅԼԼԵ. ՆԵՐԵ ՍԵՔՈՒՐ ՆԱԿ ԵՍՆԵՏԱՂՈՍԵ ԱՂՐ ՈՒՐԵ ԵՆԱԵԵ  
 ԱՂՈ ՍԵՃԱԳ ՆԱԳ ԺԵ ՍԵԼՃՈՍ ՆԱԿ ԺԵ ՕՂՆՈՍ ՆՐՈՍԵ ԵՆԱԵԵ; ՍԵՃԱԳ  
 ԺԵ ՍԵԻԻՒ ՕՍԵ ՆԼԱԶ ԺԵ ԱՂՈՒՄ ՈՂԱ, ԱՂՕՂՈՆ ՈՂԱ. ՍԼԻՆ ՄԱՐՆՅՈՔ

2 read ՆԵՏՇՅՕՐԻՒՄ 8 ՊԱՐՈՂ ms. 13-14 -ՍԱՐԱԿԱԼԵ Budge 22 ԵՂՕԴԱԲ Budge



120. For he speaks in the following manner to those that are on the left side: 'Depart from me, accursed ones, into the everlasting fire that has been prepared for the Devil and his angels' (Matt. 25:41). But to those on the right (he says): 'Come to me, blessed ones of my father' (Matt. 25:34). And also: 'Come to me, whoever is weary and burdened, and I shall give you rest' (Matt. 11:28). And again: 'You will inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the foundation of the world' (Matt. 25:34). Why? He has said: 'I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was naked and you clothed me, I was a stranger and you received me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me' (Matt. 25:35–36). These are the works that bring someone over to the right side. If you do them too, you will catch large numbers of fish, as much as you need'.

121. They said, "By your health, my holy father, due to our poverty we are not at leisure to go to church on Saturday and Sunday". He said to them, "Have I not told you, 'Do you not go to the church of God in order to entreat him that he will show you mercy and not let you be in need of anything?' For it is fitting for all Christians to go to the house of God early in the morning to entreat him that he guides the work of their hands".

122. They paid homage at his feet and said, "Pray for us, our holy father, and we shall heed all your words". And thus he prayed over them and gave them a cup of water, (saying), "Sprinkle it over your nets and you will find some". They went in faith and caught large numbers of fish. They gave the magistrate what he needed and spent the remainder on the needs of their household. They went to the righteous one and thanked God and (him for) his holy prayers. Furthermore, a Nubian brought his son to him who was ill in [...] immediately. The ship of yet someone else was in danger and when he called upon God in his name, his ship with its entire cargo was saved.

### The Miracle of the One-Eyed Nubian

123. It happened one day that two Nubians were walking together on their way to Aswan. One of them had only one eye. His friend said to him, "Come and let us receive a blessing from this great man". The one-eyed one said, "He is not a great man. If he were, let him open my eye". And before the word had left his mouth, his eye that was blind regained its ability to see but the one that had the ability to see became blind. When his friend saw what had happened, he was greatly amazed and said to him, "Did I not tell you that he is a very great man?" He said, "I did not suffer any loss, for the one was closed and the other was opened. Nevertheless, let us go to him. Perhaps he will restore



light to the other one". And they both went to the holy Apa Aaron. My father said to the Nubian who did not believe, "If you are so sure that you did not suffer loss, what are you doing here?" Immediately a great fear came over him and he paid homage to him, saying, "Forgive me!" And immediately he was able to see with the other one. Both believed and they left him full of joy, proclaiming in that entire country the miracle that had happened.

### **The Miracle of the Barren Mother**

124. There was a devout man in the city of Aswan who was a believer and visited us frequently. It happened one day that he wanted to come to us. His wife said to him, "If you go to the holy Apa Aaron, ask him to pray to Christ for us that he will give us male offspring. For I have heard about a girl that when she was about to give birth she was blocked. And when she called upon him for this matter, she gave birth to a dead boy. Her father went to him and entreated him. And—so they say—after he had taken some dust from near the door of his dwelling, he sprinkled it over the little dead boy and he came to life immediately. I believe that in your case, too, if you entreat him, whatever you will say will come to pass".

125. When he came to us, he told the matter to my father, saying, "I have lived with my wife from my youth and we did not have a child for a number of years. Now then, my holy father, [...] Christ [...], for everything that you will ask for from God, he will grant you". And the righteous one went to the place where he retired in solitude and prayed as follows, saying, "My Lord, it was you who gave our father Isaac to Sarah while she was barren (cf. Gen. 21:1–3), who gave Joseph to Rachel (cf. Gen. 30:22–24) and Samuel to Hannah (cf. 1 Sam. 2:21). Now then, Lord, you are the same yesterday, today and forever (cf. Heb. 13:8). I know your goodness, Lord. Listen to my prayer and fulfill the request of this man who has come to us".

126. When he finished praying, he went to the man and said to him, "Go, my son, in the name of Christ. I believe that just as God said to our father Abraham: "I shall come back. Allow the time and Sarah will have a son" (Rom. 9:9; cf. Gen. 18:10), it will happen to you too". And it happened as he had said. Within a year he came to us, carrying the little boy. He reached him over to my father and said, "Look at the fruit that God has given to me through your prayers". And the holy Apa Aaron took him in his arms and praised God, saying, "Blessed are you, Lord, in all your works". Then he gave him back to his father and said, "Look at the favour of God that has been shown to you. May Christ, who has granted him to you, my son, let him grow up for you and enable us to do his will".

127. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ ΝΑΨ ΕΠΕΞΟΥΟ. ΝΤΕΡΕ  
 ΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΣΩΤῆ ΕΠΣΟΕΙΤ ἡΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΔΥΣΟΝΖῆ ΕΝΕΦΟΙΧ ἡΝ ΝΕΦΟΥΡΗΗΤΕ  
 ΔΥΤΑΛΟΨ ΕΥΕΙΩ ΔΥΧΙΤῆ ΨΑΡΟΨ ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΨ ΝΒΙ ΨΤΟΟΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ.  
 ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΝΤῆ ΔΕ ΔΥΟΥΑΖῆ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΕΙΩ ΔΥΚΑΔΨ ΕΥΗΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΡῆ ΠΡΟ.  
 ΠΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΤΑΨΟ ἡΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΜΗῆΤΑΤ- 5  
 ΨΠΕ ΕΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΤῆ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΡΩ ΔΝ ΕΚΟΥΕΜ ΔΙΝ-  
 ΣΟΝῆ; ΜΗ ΝΖΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΥΟΥΩΜ ΗΠΕΤΕ ΗΠΟΥΨ ΖΙCΕ ΕΡΟΨ;  
 †CΟΟΥΝ ΕΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΔ ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ †ΜΗΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ†ΝΟC ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΕΨΨΑΠ  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΡῆΤῆΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝῆΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΨ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΨΜῆΤΖΗΚΕ ΔΨΤΩΡῆ ΜΠΕΨΗ  
 ΖΑΡΟΟΥ. ΜΗ ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΨΑΔΨ; ἡΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΔΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕ ΕΙΕΡ 10  
 ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΝΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΨΩΜΕ· ΜΗ ΝΤῆ ΟΥΖΙΑΤΡΟC ΡΩ;

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130. ΔCΨΨΠΕ ΔΕ ΜῆΝCΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΨΤΩΟΥΝ ἡΒΙ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν)  
 ΔΨΜΟΟΨΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ζῆ ΠΑ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΨΖΩ(Ν) ΕΤΟΟΤ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΖΜΟΟC  
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2 ΖΑΡΩΝ: Δ corr. < Ω || ΔΥCΟΝΖῆ: Ζ corr. < Ε 9 ΤΕΥῆῆΤΖΗΚΕ ms. 11 ΜΗΤῆ Budge 16  
 ΔΨΝΟΧῆ ms. 20 ΝΕΝΤΑΨΑΔΨ ms. 29 -ΜΟΚΧ Budge, read -ΜΟΧΚῆ 36 ΝῆΤΑΔC ms.

### The Miracle of the Man Possessed by a Demon

127. (There was) a man who was excessively troubled by a demon. When his parents heard of the fame of Apa Aaron, they bound his hands and feet, mounted him on a donkey and transported him to him, with four men holding him. When they had delivered him, they lifted him off the donkey and left him lying in front of the door. The demon spoke from inside the man, hurling great obscenities at my father and saying, "Are you not actually a soldier, who lives from violence? Are your parents not magistrates, who consume what they did not have to work for? I know that one day your father lent a man ten *holokottinoi*. And when he did not find the means to pay him back due to his poverty, he seized his house in lieu of payment. Is what he did not a sin? And as for yourself, you came to this place, (proclaiming), 'I shall heal these sick people'. Are you then a doctor?"

128. My father endured until he had said everything that he had to say. He said to him, "You do not even deserve an answer. Now then, I order you in the name of Christ, who was crucified, to come out of him". When the demon heard these words, he panicked and tried to abduct the man and flee. Then the saint filled his hand with water and sprinkled it on his face three times, saying, "In the name of the Holy Trinity, come out of him". And the demon came out. The holy man said to him, "Begone to Babylon of the Chaldeans and stay there until the day of judgement, when each will receive according to what he has done and you yourself will be thrown into the pit of hell".

129. Upon hearing this, the demon went away full of rage. When the man came to his senses, he glorified God, and so did his parents and everyone who accompanied him. Then they asked the holy man if he would accept a little something. But he refused, for he had not accepted anything of this sort since he became a monk. Often he used to say to me, "Do not look for the things of this world, which will not bring any profit. But as long as we have food and clothing, these will be sufficient for us (cf. 1 Tim. 6:8). For our Lord said to his apostles: 'Do not acquire any gold, silver or copper in your belts' (Matt. 10:9). Therefore it is fitting for monks to walk in such a manner and (lead) a good life, since they renounced this world and followed the Lord".

130. Following these events, it happened that the holy Apa Aaron rose and walked into the Valley. He commanded me, saying, "Stay here. If someone comes to look for me, say to him, 'He went to visit a brother'". For such was his ascetic practice that when winter arrived, he soaked his tunic in water, put it on and stood drenched while spending the entire night praying. When

εἰδῶτε ἡῖρ τεῦωη τηρῶ εἰωλ'η'λ. εἰωαν ῥτοοῦε ωωπε ωαϕωκ  
 εῖοῦ(η) ῥα ῥεηο (η)κοοῖ μετρα εἰωσῶ, εἰεμεϕτ' μτον ναϕ ῥωλως  
 μερσοῦ ἡῖ τεῦωη. ῥῖ πωωμ δε ῥωωϕ ωαϕααῖερατῖ ῥῖ τηηητε  
 ηπαῖμα ἡῖωληλ. αῖρ πεϕοῖοειω τηρῖ εἰμη(η) εἰωλ ῥῖ νεηνωσ ἡπο-  
 λῖτα.

5

131. αῖωωπε δε νοῦρωμε με ἀναβασίς ωωπε ντε νσωωε τηρω  
 χι μοοῦ· αἰε νῖ ῥῖμνηωε ῖῥηκε αἰρμε εῖοῦν ερω εἰχω ἡμος δε  
 πενειωτ' εἰωααβ εἰηναμοῦ ἡῖ νεωωηρε δε με ταηαβασίς ωωπε.  
 54a πεχῶα ναῦ δε πῖστεῦε δε πῖοῦτε . . . . . [ --- ϕηῖ γαρ ] | δε  
 πεωληλ ἡῖηκε, εἰωανῖκαῖ ῖῥη'τ' ωαϕωεῖτ' ἡπεϕσοπῖ ἡπῖτω εἰωλ 10  
 ἡπῖοεις. εἰτα οη δε ἀπῖοεις σωτῖ ἡποῦωῖ ῖῖῥηκε. αἰχω ερωοῦ οη  
 ῖῥεηκεμνηωε ηωαδε ῖτε νεγραϕη εἰωωλ ἡμοοῦ ερωοῦ αἰω εἰωολεῖ  
 ἡμοοῦ· αἰω ται τε ῖε ηταῖωωκ εἰωλ ῥῖτωτῖ εἰςμοῦ εἰποῦτε. πῖετ-  
 οῖααβ δε ἀπα ῥαρων ἡπεϕαμελει επεῖῥωω ἀλλα νεωαϕωκ επεἰερω  
 κατα οῦωη ἡῖ{οῦ}ωμῶ εῖραι ωα πεϕμαῖῥ ἡῖσοπῖ ἡπῖοῦτε εἰχω 15  
 ἡμος δε πεχ(πῖτο)ς παγαῖος, ωῖῥηηκ, ὦ πωῖῥηηϕ, ῥα πεκειηε ἡῖ τεκ-  
 ρῖωω. εἰεαῖω γαρ εἰμηη εἰωλ ῖτῖε ωαντε πῖοῦτε ωῖῥηηϕ ῥα νεϕ-  
 ϖῖοοῦε ἡῖτρε πῖοοῦ εἰ εἰῖ ηῖο ἡπαῖ τηρῖ.

132. αῖωωπε δε οη νοῦρωμε αῖεηρωμε εἰ ωαρω εἰεεκ ἰοῦ· κατα  
 ῖε εἰερε τῖῖτορῖα ηαταμωη εἰωανῖμοοῦε εῖη. ητερωῖω δε εἰσοπῖ 20  
 ἡμοῦ εἰρῖτωβῖ ἡπεχ(πῖτο)ς ἡῖτηημοοῦ ναῦ ἡπῖμοοῦ εἰε ταηαπαῖς  
 ῖῖρωμε· εἰωλ δε εἰωτῖρτωρ εἰωλ δε ἀπαῖρος ἡπῖμοῦῥ ἡπῖμοοῦ οῦεηε.  
 ῖτωοῦ δε αἰω εἰρμε· αἰηαῦ επεῖμκαῖ ῖῥητ αῖτωοῦη [. . . . .] . .  
 54b . η εἰσοπῖ ῖῥητῖ αἰ[ --- ]ρῖη ἡπῖοῦτ[ε] | εἰχω ἡμος δε πῖοῦτε  
 ἡπῖκω νσωκ ἡηεῖβηῦε ῖηεκῖλ, ἡρωμε ἡῖ ηῖῖηημοοῦε· και γαρ ητακ- 25  
 σωτῖ τηρῖ ῥῖ πεκσωοῦ εακκαταῖοῦ ἡμωκ αῖε επκωσωκ αἰεπωκ ῥω  
 ϖωμε εἰε πενωῖαι. τῖσωοῦη δε ἡῖ λααῖ ο ηαῖωω ἡηαῖρακ. πῖοῦτε  
 ἡπῖρῖ πωωῖ ητεῖγῖη ῖῖῥηκε ἡηωτε νσερ νωε ῥῖ νεῖςπωτοῦ ἡπεκῖτω  
 εἰωλ· ἰερε γαρ ἡπῖεῦε ἡπῖητα πσωφωσ σωλωωη ῥοοῦ δε ἡπῖτ' ηαι  
 νοῦῖητῖῖμαο ἡη οῖηῖηηκε. < --- > αἰω ῥωηη εἰωανηεηε ἡπῖμοοῦ 30  
 ἡπῖερω εῖραι εἰεηε ἡμοῦ ἀη εἰε τῖῖηηαπαῖς ἡαῖαη, οῖεη ῖωη  
 γαρ ἡπῖοῦτε εἰε πεϕωωητ' τηρῖ ῥε εἰεηρῖα ητεῖῖωωηῖ, ἀλλα ητα

21 ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ: ΤΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ms. 25 read ΝΤΒΗΝΟΟΥΕ 25–26 ΝΤΑΚΣΟΝΤῖ ms.

morning came, he went to the foot of some cold rocky hilltops; he gave himself no rest at all by day or night. In the summer, on the other hand, he stood in the middle of the heat and prayed. He spent his entire life persevering in these great ascetic practices.

### **The Miracle of the Nile Inundation**

**131.** It happened one year that the inundation did not occur and not all the fields received water. Many poor people came and wept before him, saying, “We and our children shall die, for the inundation has not taken place”. He said to them, “Believe that God [...]. For it is written: ‘The prayer of the poor; when he is distressed, he pours out his entreaty before the Lord’ (Ps. 101:1), and also: ‘The Lord has heard the desire of the poor’ (Ps. 9:38)”. He told them many other words from the Scripture, explaining them to them and comforting them. And thus they departed from him, praising God. The holy Apa Aaron was not indifferent to their distress, but went to the river every night, immersed himself up to his neck into the water and entreated God, saying, “Good Christ, compassionate one, have compassion on your likeness and image!” Indeed, he kept persevering in this way until God had compassion on his tears and made the inundation cover the face of the entire land.

### **Another Miracle of the Nile Inundation**

**132.** It also happened one year that some men came to him, who were five in number, as the story will show us as we proceed. When they continued to entreat him to pray to Christ that he would send them the inundation for the relief of the people, as they were distressed since the season of the Nile inundation had passed—(when) they continued to cry, he saw their sorrow and rose [...] entreating in it and he [...] of God, saying, “God, ‘do not forsake the works of your hands’ (Ps. 137:8), men and animals, for you have redeemed us all with your blood, as you deigned to come into the world and be born as a human being for our salvation. We know that nothing is impossible with you (cf. Matt. 19:26). God, ‘do not forget the life of the poor’ (Ps. 73:19), so that they will not sin with their lips before you. For I remember what the wise Solomon has said: ‘Give me neither wealth nor poverty’ (Prov. 30:8). (<...>) And whenever he (i.e. God) brings about the inundation of the river, he does so not for our relief alone—for God is able to make all his creation find what they need for their livelihood—but God has allowed the poor man to

55a πνοῦτε κα πρηνε ετρῳαίγει μπρῖμαο χεкас, ерѡан прῖмаο р пна, еур  
 пна нῖмаϷ мπεροоῦ мπεϷῖπϷινε. πρηνε δε ϷωωϷ еϷϷантϷоῦн Ϸа  
 теϷмῖтρηνке, еϷнаѡк етῖнтерο νοῡωт. Ϸηνке нῖм нῖ[ . ] . ет[ . . ] . хе . .  
 .... πνοῦτε хе н[ . . ] τοῡ πῖна [ - - - ] ннρηνке . . . . . [ете тαι] | те тῖнтерο  
 нῖπηνе.

5

133. прѡме нῖнант еϷтῖтϷон етеϷлооῶе нта ιακωβ наῡ ерос ере Ϸατῷ  
 тахρηνῡ ехῖм пкаρ, ере теϷапе пнρ ѡаρραι етпе, ере наггелос мπноῦте  
 <βнк еρραι аῡω еῡннῡ еπεснт Ϸιχωс, ере пχοεic> тахρηνῡ ехωс, ете пай  
 пе пειωт мпна. аῡаῡ хе нтаϷхοос хе неikoῡι ете пай не еῡсoвῷ· нῖе он  
 нῖтаϷхοос хе екϷанеire нῖογαριστον н οῡδιπνον, мπρῖмоῦте енеκϷβнρ  
 οῡδε неκсῡнгєннс аῡῡа тῡρῖм нῖρηνке мῖ нῖλλе мῖ нῖαῡе хе мῖтаῡ  
 λαаῡ мῖаῡ нῡῖβωω нсетоοβοῡ наκ· сенатоοβοῡ γαρ наκ Ϸῖ таῡαcтacic  
 нῖνῖкаιος. аῡω кан еῡхе мῖ ῖом нῖο(н) еаῡе еρραι ехῖн тапе нте-  
 Ϸлооῶе, ете пай пе етρῖт Ϸῖн οῡ(οῡ)ωωῡе нῖнρе епῖна етхнκ евол. етве  
 пай маρῖна хе пна ѡаϷϷοῡϷοῡ нῖοϷ Ϸιχῖн текpicic.

10

15

55b 134. пай де нтерῷхοоῡ нῖῖи ппетογαав апа Ϸαρων аϷϷλнλ аϷкааῡ  
 евол Ϸῖн οῡεирннн хе πноῦте наτρε пειερο μοῡρ мῖοοῡ нῖενтῡ енеϷϷι.  
 мпρρ Ϸοτε οῡде мпρρ атῖаρте нтетῖхοос хе апснῡ мпмоῡρ мπмооῡ  
 οῡεине, аῡῡа пистеῡе нтоῡ | хе οῡн ῖом мπноῦте еρωб нῖм. аῡтῡοῡн  
 де аῡѡк Ϸῖн οῡεирннн.

20

135. Ϸῖн теῡϷн де етннῡ аϷѡк ехῖм пερο аϷϷλ'н'λ еϷхω мῖοс хе  
 пχοεic, нтоκ пе нсаϷ {пе} аῡω нтоκ он мпооῡ аῡω он ѡа нῖеῡеρ· нтоκ  
 пентаκπωρ нῖοῡπεтра аρєнмооῡ еи евол аκтсο нῖογλαос· аῡω нтере  
 самῖωн еibe аκтре οῡμεροῡοiῖе неiῡ таῡе мооῡ евол аcтaλῖο мπεϷ-  
 еibe. етве пай тсοпсῖ мῖοκ мпооῡ хекас екетῖнмооῡ мῖπмооῡ мπειερο  
 еρραι ехῖм пкаρ тнρῡ хекас ере нρηνке мпеклаос наρе етеῡтροφн нсе-  
 сῖмоῡ ерок мῖ пекра(н) етоῡаав. аῡω аϷхек теῡϷн тнρῷ евол еϷϷλнλ  
 еϷсοпсῖ мπноῦте етве пмооῡ мπειερο нῖи ппетογαав апа Ϸαρων· аῡω  
 тαι те ῖе нта пмооῡ ῖω еϷмоῡρ Ϸῖн οῡῖοῡн евол, мπεϷеи епаροῡ нῖοῡ-  
 Ϸοоῡ ѡанте нсῡῡе тнροῡ χι мооῡ, еаῡноῖ нρῡноῡϷе ѡωпе нтерοмπε  
 етῖмῖаῡ Ϸιтῖн неϷλнλ мппетογαав· каτa πεтснρ хе псοпсῖ мῖνῖкаιος  
 ῖм ῖом аῡω Ϸεῡεpгeи.

25

30

6 нῖнант ms. 12 нсетоοβοῡ ms. || сенатоοβοῡ ms. 13 мῖοκ Budge 30 read нρе-  
 νοῡϷе 31 ппетснρ Budge



ask the rich man, so that when the rich man shows mercy, he will be shown mercy on the day of his visitation. If the poor man, in turn, bears his poverty, he will enter the same kingdom. Every poor man will [...] God [...] mercy [...] the poor [...], that is, the kingdom of heaven.

**133.** The merciful man resembles the ladder that Jacob saw, its foot set firmly on the earth with its top reaching up to heaven; the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord rested on it, he who is the father of mercy (cf. Gen. 28:12–13). Consider that he said: ‘These little ones’ (Matt. 10:42, 18:6, 10, 14; Mark 9:42; Luke 17:2), that is, they are of little account, just as he also said: ‘When you hold a lunch or dinner, do not invite your friends or relatives, but invite the poor, the blind and the lame, because they have nothing in exchange to repay you, for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous’ (Luke 14:12–14). And (this is the case) even if we are unable to climb to the top of the ladder, which means to give in abundance and find perfect mercy. Let us therefore show mercy, for ‘mercy prevails over judgement’ (Jas. 2:13).’

**134.** When the holy Apa Aaron had said these things, he prayed and let them go in peace, (saying), “God will make the river overflow with water and will bring it up to its proper level. Do not fear and do not be incredulous so as to say, ‘The season of the Nile inundation has passed’, but rather believe that God can do everything”. They rose and left in peace.

**135.** In the following night he went to the river and prayed, saying, “Lord, you are the same yesterday, today and forever (cf. Heb. 13:8). It was you who split a rock, water came out and you gave a people to drink (cf. Exod. 17:6). And when Samson was thirsty, you made water flow from the jawbone of a donkey and it quenched his thirst (cf. Judg. 15:18–19). I therefore entreat you today that you may send the inundation of the river over the entire land so that the poor among your people will find their food and praise you and your holy name”. And the holy Apa Aaron spent the whole night praying and entreating God for the inundation of the river. And so it was that the water continuously kept rising, without falling for a single day, until all the fields had received water. And there was great plenty that year thanks to the prayers of the saint, just as it is written: “The prayer of the righteous is powerful and effective” (Jas. 5:16).

136. εἰδανῆι τοὺτ ἑταῦρε νεφμαεῖν τηροῦ μὴ νεφνηρε ντα πνοῦτε  
 56a ενεργεῖ ἡμοοῦ εβολ ζιτοοτῆ μπετοῦααβ | ἀπα ῥαρων, πῶα.δε να-  
 οῦωωῆ εβολ επερογο. αςωωπε δε ἡοῦροοῦ εφρμοος ερε ῥενρωμε σοοῦρ  
 εροφ, αφει νοῖ οῦρωμε ἡρῆκε ερε οῦερταῦ νεῖωτ ταλῆγ εροφ αφпара-  
 калаῖ μμοφ εφ.ω μμοc .δε cмоῦ εροφ наῖ, παεῖωτ ετοῦααβ, нтавωк 5  
 нтатамῖοφ ноеῖк ἡῆαφῆρε .δε анок οῦρωμε ηρῆκε. ππετοῦααβ δε ἀπα  
 ῥαρων αφμεῖ πεφωωφτ ἡμοοῦ αφнохῆ εχῆ пертаῦ νεῖωτ εφ.ω μμοc  
 .δε вωк нῆтамῖο ннеκωῆρε ῖῆ пран ἡπεх(рῖcто).с. нтоφ δε αφ.хῖтῆ  
 αφвωк αфтамῖοφ аҕноб ἡcмоῦ ωωπε ηρῆтῆ. прωме δε αφει ωарон ефт  
 10 εооῦ ἡπноῦте ἡῆ ππετοῦααβ ἀπα ῥαρων.
137. εἰc ῥηηте, ω παсон παπноῦте, аῖ.ω ерок ηρeнкоуῖ εβολ ῖῆ ἡпо-  
 лыта μπετοῦααβ ἀπα ῥарω(н)· εβολ .δε аηῆ оҕлас нсарз, ἡῆ cом  
 ἡμοῖ ε.ω ἡптаῖο ннеφаретн· †натамок етеφсῖнмтон ето ἡωῆῆρε,  
 ене оҕрлло пе· аφαаῖ ῖῆ неφрооῦ аπεφсωма аηῖалиске ῖῖтῆ περογο  
 нтаскῖсῖс. αφωωне δε нсоῦ †оῦ ἡпафонс аῦω ἡπεφрасте, ете соῦ 15  
 56b сооῦ пе, аῖωтῆ еῖῆснн нте ῥенхорос | наггелос еῦωω εβολ .δε мака-  
 рῖос, макариос, ἡпе{εῖ}еῖме еπεтоῦ.ω μμοφ. анок δε παπноῦте πε.хай  
 наф .δε паῖ пе πεφвωλ .δε аҕмакаризе μμοφ ῖῆ ἡпнҕе ное ἡтаҕмака-  
 рῖзе μμοφ ῖхῆῆ пкаῖ. енеῦмнн δε εβολ нтҕе ωа пнаῦ нωωрпῆ нсоῦ †ῖс  
 ἡпewот пафонс. ἡпнаῦ δε ἡхῆ саωφe ἡπεροоῦ етῆмаῦ афмтон μμοφ 20  
 ῖῆ оҕнῆтῖрлло ескῖωоῦ нῖῖ ππεтоῦααβ ἀπα ῥарων. анон δε аηκωωс  
 ἡπεφсωма ῖῆ оҕеооῦ ἡῆ оῦтмн, аηкааф ῖаῖтῆ псωма ἡнепῖскопос  
 етоῦααβ нтаῦωωпе ῖῆ пῖлак, ете ἀпа μαкедωνῖос пе ἡῆ ἀпа μαркос  
 ἡῆ ἀпа нсаῖас.
138. тeноῦ сe, παсон παпноῦте, ωлῆл ε.ωῖ нте πноῦте р оῦна ἡῆмаῖ 25  
 нῖῖн таῖан εβολ ῖῆ пeῖκοcмос еср аηаф. анок δε πε.хай наф .δε аῖр  
 ἡпωа нοῦноб ηρмот .δε аῖωтῆ енеῖποлыта εβολ ζῖтоотῆ ена пeῖпет-  
 оῦααβ (не). етве паῖ анок ῖω †насῖаῖсоῦ нта{к}кааῦ еῖраῖ еῦпрос-  
 таҕма нηγεηeα τηροῦ етнаωωпе· аῦω таῖ те оe нтаῖсῖаῖсоῦ.
139. нтерῆноῦω δε еηωа.δε ἡῆ нeneрнῦ, анок ἡῆ ἀпа ῖсаак, [п]маоη- 30  
 57a тнс напа ῥарων, афсω еῖраῖ [но]ῖтрапeза аηоῦωн нοῦоеῖк | ἡῆ нene-  
 рнῦ· аηтωоῦн аηωлῆл аῖеῖ εβολ ζῖтоотῆ етравωк вῖῆ пωῖне ἡнесннῦ  
 етῖῖ пса нмῖгт ἡῆмоф.

1 εωανῆι Budge 2 ῥαρων: α corr. < ω 4 read οῦερταβ 6 ἡῆαφῆρε ms. 7 read  
 пертаβ 19 пнаῦ: πноб ms. 26 акр ms. 28 нтаκκααο'ῦ' Budge, both first κ and ῖ  
 corr. < α 31 read αφκω 32 ἡῆесннῦ ms. 33 ἡῆοф ms.

### The Miracle of the Poor Man's Barley

136. If I would try to narrate all the signs and wonders that God worked through the holy Apa Aaron, the story would become too long. It happened one day, as he was sitting down with some men gathered around him, that a poor man who was carrying an *artaba* of barley came to him and entreated him, saying, "Bless it for me, my holy father, and I shall go and make bread from it for my children, for I am a poor man". The holy Apa Aaron filled the hollow of his hand with water and sprinkled it over the *artaba* of barley, saying, "Go and make bread for your children in the name of Christ". He took it, went and made bread from it, and a great blessing arose from it. And the man came to us glorifying God and the holy Apa Aaron.

### The Death of Aaron and Epilogue

137. Here then, my brother Paphnutius, I have told you a few of the feats of the holy Apa Aaron. For I am but a tongue of flesh and unable to sing the praise of his virtues. I shall (now) tell you about the wondrous manner in which he went to rest, when he was an old man. He was advanced in years and his body was worn out due to excessive asceticism. He fell ill on the fifth of Pashons (30 April) and the next day, that is, the sixth (1 May), I heard voices of angelic choirs crying out, "Blessed, blessed!" And I did not understand what they were saying'. (But I, Paphnutius, said to him, 'This is what it means: that he was proclaimed blessed in heaven just as he was proclaimed blessed on earth'.) 'They continued in this way until the early morning of the ninth of the month Pashons (4 May). And by the seventh hour of that day the holy Apa Aaron went to rest in the fullness of old age. We buried his body with glory and honour and deposited it near the bodies of the holy bishops that were in Philae, that is, Apa Macedonius, Apa Mark and Apa Isaiah.

138. Now then, my brother Paphnutius, pray for me that God may have mercy on me and make my end in this world pleasing to him'. And I said to him, 'I have become worthy of a great grace, because I have heard about the feats of this holy man from you. Therefore I, in turn, shall write them down and lay them down as a precept for all generations to come'. And thus it was that I wrote them down.

139. When we, I and Apa Isaac, the disciple of Apa Aaron, had finished talking to each other, he laid a table and we ate some bread together. We rose and prayed and I left him in order to go and visit the brothers to his north.

140. παῖ πε πβιος μππετοῦααβ ναναχωρίτης ἡρῆπιλακ ἀπα ῥαρων  
 εαϋδεκ πεφδρομος εβολ ῥῆ πτοοῦ μπειεβτ̄ μπειλακ εγεοοῦ ντετριάς  
 ετοῦααβ, πειωτ ἡῆ πωηρε ἡῆ πεπν(εγμ)α ετοῦααβ ηρῆτανζο αῡω ηζο-  
 μοοῦσιος, τενοῦ αῡω νοῡοειω nim ωα ενεζ.

140. This is the life of the holy anchorite from Philae, Apa Aaron, who finished his course in the desert east of Philae for the glory of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial, now and forever until eternity.

# Commentary

## Section 1. Stories of the Monks near Aswan (1–25)

*The first section (1–25) basically falls apart into three parts. In the opening scene, the beginning of which is lost, Paphnutius, who has travelled to southern Egypt to hear the stories of the holy men in the region of Aswan, meets Pseleusius and Zaboulon and is, eventually, received with open arms (1–3). The two following parts are the two stories that Pseleusius tells in a private conversation to Paphnutius about holy men from the region. The first story (4–9) is his own story of how he became a monk under his master John and learned from him how to live in the desert. The second story (10–25) is his encounter in the deep desert with Anianus and Paul, who in turn tell him their story of how their master Zachaeus initiated them into monasticism and helped them to survive in this desolate place (12–24), a story that has the same structure as Pseleusius' first narrative.*

*1–3. Even if the first folio, which contained the opening scene, is lacking, we can deduce from the closing scene, where Paphnutius states that—after having travelled further south to Isaac (comm. on 26–28)—he is going to visit the brethren to his north (see comm. on 139, αἰεὶ ... ἡμῶν), that it would have included a similar remark explaining the reason why Paphnutius embarked on a journey to the south. We envisage the following narrative situation. Paphnutius' mission (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ) to report on the lives of the monks on Egypt's southern frontier brings him to the region of the First Cataract. There he finds Pseleusius and Zaboulon, but he is at first received with suspicion or even hostility. Then something Paphnutius does or says, perhaps the revelation of his mission, clears the air and he is solemnly welcomed by both monks (this is where our text begins) and they henceforth show great hospitality (1). They celebrate the Eucharist together and spend the whole night discussing spiritual matters (2). Afterwards Paphnutius takes Pseleusius apart and they talk about Zaboulon (3).*

1. ΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΝ[ΞΟ]ΥΤΚ̅ ΕΡΟC 'the service which has been entrusted to you': cf. the same phrase (†ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΕΤΑΥΤΕΝΞΟΥΤΚ̅ ΕΡΟC) as found in the Bohairic *Martyrdom of Piroou and Athom*, fol. 50 (ed. H. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Égypte* [Paris, 1886] 163), where the martyrs-to-be, as instructed in a vision by the Archangel Gabriel (fol. 39–40), charge a certain Sarapamon with the task (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ) of taking care of the body of the martyr Apa Anoua. For διακονία in the sense of 'service to God', see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. διακονία B.

ΚΑΛΩC ΔΑΦΧΟΟC ἡ̅ḡι π[ρ̅]ῶλλει ΔΑ(ΥΙ)Δ ΧΕ ΞΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕ ἡ̅[ΕΚ]ΜΑ ἡ̅-  
ΩΩΠΕ· ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΞΕΝΜΕΡΙ[ΙΤ] ΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ 'The Psalmist David rightly

said: “Beloved are your habitations”, and (it is) also (written): “Beloved are they because of their fathers”: the two quotes, one from the Old Testament (Ps. 83:2) and one from the New Testament (Rom. 11:28), both beginning with  $\zeta\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\tau\tau\ \eta\epsilon$ , underline the monks’ admiration for Paphnutius.

$\pi\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\chi\cdot[\rho\omicron]\ \chi\epsilon\ \lambda\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$  (read  $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ )  $\mu\tilde{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\zeta[\omicron]\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\tilde{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\eta$  ‘It is the Lord who triumphs! For he became full of reverence, great respect and goodwill towards us’: this sentence does not belong to the direct speech of the two monks, but is Paphnutius’ enthusiastic reaction to their *volte-face*, which confirms to Paphnutius that God has bestowed his favour on him. The ‘he’ in the second part of the sentence, however, cannot be God as the nouns  $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ,  $\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon$  and  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau$  must refer to a human agent and must be the speaker whose words have just been quoted. Although elsewhere the two monks Anianus and Paul tell their story together in the first person plural (12–24), we can therefore assume that the speech is delivered by one person, either Pseleusius or Zaboulon, speaking on behalf of both monks (the ‘we’ in the phrase ‘blessed are we’). Given that in 3, Paphnutius takes Pseleusius aside and he starts by saying about Zaboulon that ‘we profited greatly’ from him, it is most likely that the speaker at the start of our text is Zaboulon and that the second part of the present sentence describes the change of heart that he has undergone towards Paphnutius. For reasons of clarity we have therefore cut up the sentence into two parts.

$\zeta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$ : read  $\zeta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  ‘full of reverence’. The form  $\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$  can be explained by two shifts: the loss of the front vowel  $\epsilon$  between two back vowels and the merging of the group  $\omicron\omicron\gamma$  into  $\tilde{\omega}$  (for this merger, see Introduction, p. 31). Forms of  $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$  without  $\epsilon$  do occur and are the standard in Bohairic (Kasser, *Compléments* 12). This solution is more economical than e.g.  $\zeta\eta\ (\omicron\gamma)\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}(\tilde{\omega})$  ‘full of love’ and accords well with the phonetic peculiarities of the text.

$\chi\epsilon\ \{\pi\eta\iota\ \chi\epsilon\}\ \pi\eta\iota$ : a copying error. The scribe wrote the correct  $\pi\eta\iota$  after  $\chi\epsilon$  but then mistakenly wrote  $\chi\epsilon$  again; realizing his error, he started anew with  $\pi\eta\iota$ .

2.  $[\eta\tau\epsilon]\rho\epsilon\ \pi\eta\lambda\gamma\ \lambda\epsilon\ \omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \eta\tau\cdot[\varsigma\gamma\eta\lambda]\zeta\iota\varsigma$  ‘When the time had come, we celebrated the Eucharist’: the celebration of the Eucharist implies that Pseleusius and Zaboulon belonged to a *laura*, a monastic community in which monks lived on their own but came together for the Eucharist. See E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Warsaw, 2009) 288–290, 455–457. If so, this monastic community could well be the one of which the name is mentioned in the lacuna at the beginning of 6, where Pseleusius first received instruction from his master John. Cf. 24, where it is said that Anianus and Paul regularly travel from their current place of habitation in the inner desert to ‘the brothers’ in the outer desert, presumably a reference to

the monastic community Hilltop whence they came, to celebrate the Eucharist (see comm. on ἀγῶ ... ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ).

ⲁ[ⲛ]ⲧ ⲙ[ⲡⲱⲡ ⲉⲙⲟⲧ 'we said grace': for this verb, which is a rendering of Greek εὐχαριστέω (Lampe, *PGL* s.v. εὐχαριστέω 1c), see Crum, *Dict.* 681b. The reconstruction is based on 28 below (which is cited as an example by Crum).

ⲛⲓⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲧⲁ[ϣⲁ]ⲧⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϣⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲟϣⲣⲁⲩⲉ ⲁγῶ ⲁγϣ[ⲱⲕ ⲉⲃ]ⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲟγῶⲱ ⲧⲙⲣⲩ 'just like the servant of Abraham who was received with joy and whose wish was entirely fulfilled': this refers to the story of Abraham's servant in Gen. 24, who is sent to his master's country of origin to find a suitable wife for his son Isaac. When he has arrived there, the servant prays to God to grant Abraham's wish and Rebecca appears, whose family kindly receives the servant and agrees to the marriage. Note that both the servant and Paphnutius are on a divine mission, have been travelling to a far-away place and are welcomed with hospitality. While the servant's task is completed with success, at this point Paphnutius surely thinks his mission will be successful too (as it will be).

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ [ϣ]ⲱ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟϣ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϣⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲟ[ϣ]ⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲱ 'As for me, I glorified God that he had not deprived me of what I was looking for': cf. Gen. 24:27, 48, where the servant praises God that he has not let down Abraham (and his servant).

ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙⲉ [ϣ]ⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲁϣ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϣⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [ⲉϣ]ⲟγῶⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϣⲧⲉ 'as it is written: what the man wanted was fulfilled as he worshipped God': this looks like a quote from the Bible, but turns out to be another paraphrase of Gen. 24, in which 'the man' refers to the servant of Abraham; cf. the remark in the text above about the servant ⲁγϣ[ⲱⲕ ⲉⲃ]ⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲟγῶⲱ ⲧⲙⲣⲩ 'whose wish was entirely fulfilled' and Gen. 24:26, 48, where the servant, realizing that he has found the right woman, worships God.

ⲙⲓⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲛⲓ[ⲉⲣ]ⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲭⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ 'after we had said the vespers': the evening service, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. λυχνικός 3, with H. Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Leuven, 1970) 191–192; Zanetti, 'Liturgie dans les monastères de Shenoute', 183–185.

3. ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲉϣⲓⲟⲥ: as far as we are aware, this name is otherwise unattested. He is further mentioned by name in 4, 7 (twice), 8, 10 and 27. Cf. Heuser 93, who interprets the name as the formation of the Coptic definite article ⲡ + (unknown) Greek word. It appears in *NB Kopt.* s.v., without attestation.

ⲟϣⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟϣ ϣⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟϣⲛⲛⲉ [ⲛⲛ]ⲙⲁϣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲗ{ϣ}ⲃⲟϣⲗⲟⲛ 'A good brother is he with whom you are living, Apa Zaboulon': Pseleusius and Zaboulon live together. Later on, we learn that Pseleusius first lived on his own after which Zaboulon joined him (9) and that, when visiting Anianus and Paul in the deep desert, he is tempted to stay but then remembers his brother Zaboulon



(11) and returns to his dwelling when they have finished their story (25). Since Pseleusius and Paphnutius travel four miles to the south from this dwelling to visit Isaac ‘on the island in the middle of the Cataract’ (26, with comm. on  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\epsilon \dots \mu\mu\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta$ ), probably el-Hesa, and this island is roughly four miles south of Aswan, it is likely that Pseleusius’ (and Zaboulon’s) dwelling was located somewhere near Aswan.

$\text{ΖΑ}\{\Upsilon\}\text{ΒΟΥΛΩΝ}$ : the scribe first wrote  $\text{ΖΟΥ-}$ , then changed  $\omicron$  into  $\alpha$  but left the  $\Upsilon$ . The original writing  $\text{ΖΟΥ-}$  may be accounted for by labial ‘cumul’, see Introduction, p. 32. Elsewhere in the text, the spelling of his name is  $\text{ΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ}$  (9, 11). The name is rarely found as a personal name in Egypt, see Heuser 106 and *NB Kopt.* s.v., with just one attestation (*P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 104.5). Zaboulon is depicted as saint no. 30 in a decorated cave at the monastery of Apa Hatre on the west bank of the Nile at Aswan, dating to the seventh or eighth century, where the legend reads  $\alpha\pi\alpha \text{ΖΑΒΟΥ}\{\lambda\}\omega\eta$ . We would like to thank Gertrud van Loon and Sebastian Richter, who are preparing its publication, for sharing photos and a preliminary transcription of the legend with us. This discovery, together with that of Banouphiel who is depicted on the same wall (comm. on 25,  $\pi\epsilon\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\eta \beta\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\phi\iota\eta\lambda$ ), shows that Aaron (comm. on 26,  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \dots \epsilon\lambda\phi\omega\eta$ ) was not the only monk from the *Life of Aaron* worshipped locally as a saint (more monks known from the *Life* may have been depicted on the wall, but the legends are unfortunately much damaged or gone altogether).

$\epsilon\mu\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega \epsilon\epsilon\iota[\eta\epsilon] \eta\pi\epsilon\phi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon\theta\eta \epsilon\bar{\eta} \lambda\alpha\alpha\Upsilon \bar{\eta}\epsilon[\omega\beta]$  ‘since he did not want his word to take precedence in anything’: the same phrase is found in the Sahidic version of the *Apophth. Patr.* 104 (ed. Chaîne, *Manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des ‘Apophthegmata Patrum’*, 24), which reads  $\chi\epsilon \eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\eta\epsilon \eta\alpha \epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon \eta\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon\theta\eta$  ‘in order that you may not seek to let your word take precedence’ (the same saying of Poemen occurs in *Apophth. Patr.*, Syst. Coll. 15.49 [sc 474, p. 320] and the Latin recension of Pelagius and John 15.33 [PL 73, col. 960], translated by L. Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert. Les apophthegmes des pères (recension de Pélage et de Jean)* [Solesmes, 1966] 219 as ‘ne cherche pas à imposer ton point de vue’), and in 16 below, on which our reconstruction of the first lacuna ( $\epsilon\epsilon\iota[\eta\epsilon]$ ) is based.

4–9. Having heard about Zaboulon (3), Paphnutius now asks Pseleusius about his own life, which he recounts in his first story (4–9). After Pseleusius has told about his character and a vision which prompted him to enter the monastic life (4–5), he goes to a monastic community and meets Apa John, who becomes his master (6). Pseleusius tells about his ascetic practices (6–7), how John dresses him in monastic clothes and instructs him (8), and how the master accompanies his disciple into the desert until he is ready to live on his own (9).



him') and the particle ΟΥΝ 'then'. In order not to disrupt the flow of the translation too much, we have rendered the first precursive as a main clause: 'Then it became morning'.

ΜΠΕΤΑΝΤΑΚ 'which you own': this form (for standard ΜΠΕΤΕΝΤΑΚ) can be explained by the *schwa*-*a* interchange common in southern Sahidic (see Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius* 1, 236) or by simple backward vowel assimilation.

Νῖϣι ΜΠΕΚΤ(ΔΥ)ΡΟC ΝῖΟΥΑ[ϣ]ϣ ΝCΑ ΠΕΚΧΟΕΙC, ΝῖΚΩ (Ν)ΝΕΤΜ[Ο]ΟΥΤ ΕΤΩ[Μῆ Νῖ]ΕΥΡῖΜΟΟΥΤ '(and) take up your cross and follow your Lord. And let the dead bury their dead'. These clauses are not announced as quotations, but the first part is clearly inspired by Matt. 10:38 (ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΝΦΝΑϣΙ ΔΝ ΜΠΕΚΤ(ΔΥ)ΡΟC ΝΦΟΥΑϣϣ ΝCΩΙ 'and whoever does not take up his cross and follow me ...'), which partly overlaps with Matt. 8:22 (ΟΥΑϣΚ ΝCΩΙ 'follow me'), while the second part is a literal quotation from that verse (ed. G. Aranda Pérez, *El Evangelio de San Mateo en copto sahidico* [Madrid, 1984] 139, cf. G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect*, vol. 1 [Oxford, 1911] 68: some manuscripts have the bound state ΕΤΕΜC ΝΕΥΡῖΜΟΟΥΤ). Cf. also Luke 9:59–60.

ΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΤΑΛΕ ΤΟΟΤῖ ΕΧῖ ΟΥῖΒΒΕ ΝῖΚΟΤῖ ΕΠΑϣΟΥ ΝῖCΟΟΥΤῖ ΕϣΟΥΝ ΕΤΜῖΤΕΡΟ ΝῖΠΠΗΥΕ 'No one who puts his hand to the plough and turns backwards is fitted for the kingdom of heaven': a quote from Luke 9:62, with the slight variant ΝῖΚΟΤῖ ΕΠΑϣΟΥ 'and turns backwards' for Luke's ΝῖCΩΟΥΤ ΕΠΑϣΟΥ 'and looks backwards', though in the explanation of the verse that follows the latter verb is used (ΠΕΙΩΑΔΕ ΔΕ ΔΕ CΩΟΥῖ ΕΠΑϣΟΥ ... 'This word "to look backwards" ...').

ϣϣΜΑΝΕ '(it) signifies, indicates': for this spelling of Greek σημαίνω, see Förster, *WB* s.v.

ΝῖΤῖΤῖCΟΥΩΝΟΥ 'that we should ignore': the conjunctive is dependent on ϣϣΜΑΝΕ, which has both a nominal and a verbal complement. For the conjunctive as verbal complement, see Introduction, p. 26.

ΠΤΩῖΜ ΝΤΑΥΤΑϣΜΕΚ ΕΡΟΥ 'the vocation to which you have been summoned': a cognate object construction (*figura etymologica*), see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 120. The same construction is found in 1 Cor. 7:20, ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ῖΜ ΠΤΩῖΜ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑϣΜΕϣ ΝῖΗΤϣ ΜΑΡΕϣCΩ ΝῖΗΤϣ 'Let each remain in the vocation to which he has been summoned' (ed. H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles* [Cambridge, 1932] 128).

6. ΔϣΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝῖΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ[ϣ ΔΕ 'He went to the brothers in the place that is called': unfortunately, the name of the monastic community which Pseleusius joined is in the lacuna. It cannot be Hilltop, the monastic community in the desert near Aswan to which Anianus and Paul go,

which is only first introduced there (13, with comm. on πκοοζ). Perhaps it is this community to which Pseleusius and Zaboulon belong. That would mean that the community can also be located in the Aswan area (see comm. on 3, ογcon ... ζα{γ}βογλων).

ζεντῆζ νεβρομπε εγλαλφογ νζατ αγω πκωτε ḿνεσναζβ ζῆ πογοτογет μππογв ‘Dove wings covered with silver and the region of her back with the pallor of gold’: quote from Ps. 67:14, which is followed by an interesting exegesis of this passage, in which—in a chiasitic structure (ABBABA)—John’s raising of hands (in prayer) is compared to the wings, the lustre of silver to his pure prayers and the pallor of gold to the pallor of his asceticism. For a comparison between the wings of doves and prayer, see *Phys.* 35a (pp. 114–115 Sbordone).

μπτγπος ḿ-: literally ‘(is) after the model of’, here translated as ‘corresponds to’: a common formula for comparison in biblical exegesis as found e.g. in *Homily of Epiphanius of Salamis on the Holy Virgin*, fol. 15a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 125), where Tamar is compared to the Church and Judah to God the Father (Gen. 38), and 19 below.

κατα νεγραφῃ ‘according to the Scriptures’: the author wants to underline the presence of the latter word, ḿτῆζ ‘the wings’, in the holy book. Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 76 correctly translates ‘as described in’, which we follow here.

εφεῖνε ... εχῆ ‘he compares ... to’: the same verb is used in the exegesis of Exod. 7:10–13 at the start of 20 and 21 (see comm. on 20–21).

νεωαφογωμ δε on [n]ζαζ nconi ζῆ nenthῳ noe niw[ζα]nnhc πβαπτις-τις nταγρῆ[n]tre ζαροφ ζ[ε] τεφρε δε ne ζενωξε ne n[ῆ] ογεβ[ie] zooγт ‘He also often ate herbs as John the Baptist did, about whom it is testified that “his food consisted of sprigs and wild honey”’: John the Baptist is clearly represented here as a vegetarian, in accordance with an interpretation widespread in Late Antique monasticism. See S. Brock, ‘The Baptist’s Diet in Syriac Sources’, *OC* 54 (1970) 113–124; J.A. Kelhoffer, *The Diet of John the Baptist* (Tübingen, 2005) 171–183. For the Egyptian sources, see Isid. Pel. *ep.* 1.5, 132 (*PG* 78, cols 181–184, 269); *Panegyric on John the Baptist* 19.2 (ed. K.H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria* [Leuven, 1966] 55, l. 5 [Sahidic], cf. l. 23, [Bohairic]); *Life of John the Baptist* (Arabic, trans. A. Mingana, ‘Woodbrooke Studies: Editions and Translations of Christian Documents in Syriac and Garshūni, Fasc. 2’, *BRL* 11 [1927] 329–498 at 449 = *Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, 1927] 245), in which the last two authors both replace ‘locusts’ with ‘grass, herbs’. Therefore ωξε in the quote from Matt. 3:4 should *not* be translated with ‘locusts’; for ωξε in the sense of ‘sprigs’, see Crum, *Dict.* 615a; cf. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 277.

7.  $\text{NTPIEI OYN OAPPOQ}$  ‘When I, then, had come to him’: the narrative voice suddenly shifts to first person, with which the narrative moves to the secondary level. Note that the shift is marked by an elaborate formula denoting the person about whom Pseleusius is talking, Apa John, and that it occurs exactly at the point where Pseleusius begins to tell about his personal experiences with John, while the previous text in 6–7 provides background information on John’s ascetic practices and visions.

$\text{EN OYNOO NHTMTAIPOME}$  ‘with great charity’:  $\text{HTMTAIPOME}$  is the equivalent of Greek  $\text{φιλανθρωπία}$  (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.).

8. The reading  $\text{N[THN]TMONOXOC}$  is certain because of the long superlinear stroke visible above the lacuna, as well as the top part of the horizontal of the second  $\tau$ , but there are no traces of  $\text{MN}$ , so they have been placed in the lacuna.

$\text{OY PACON PELEGC[OC]}$  ‘my brother Pseleusius’: the vocative marker  $\text{OY}$  instead of  $\text{O}$  is spelled in the same way elsewhere in the manuscript (36, 63) and is also found as such in other Esna-Edfu manuscripts, e.g. *Apocalypse of Paul*, in the Sahidic version, fol. 29a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 562). For the  $\text{O-OY}$  interchange, common in Upper Egyptian Coptic, see Introduction, p. 31.

$\text{OPOE E[T]ETHTCANHY}$  ‘be well behaved’: for the ‘periphrastic imperative’ with  $\text{OPOE}$  + circumstantial, see Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §369, 427.

$\text{NA PBOX}$ : literally ‘those belonging to the outside’ (see Crum, *Dict.* 33b), a rendering of Greek  $\text{οἱ ἔξω}$  (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\text{ἐξω}$  2), hence ‘laymen’.

$[\text{NOE}] \text{HNIEZOQ} \dots \text{NOE} [\text{NN}] \text{EIOPOMPTE}$  ‘like serpents ... like doves’: both nouns have demonstratives which when used in generalizations are left untranslated. See Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 133–134; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §58b.

$\text{AKAIPAIOC}$ : that is, Greek  $\text{ἀκέραιος}$  ‘innocent’ (Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\text{ἀκέραιος}$  3).

$\text{PENANADIAIKOC, PAIABOLOC, MOOPE EFOPOB EPOME, EPELZHNI NOE NNEIMOYI, EPOINE NCA OMK HNENYXHI}$  ‘for our adversary the Devil roams around, hunting for man, roaring like a lion and seeking to swallow our souls’: cf. 1 Pet. 5:8, which is adapted to the context here by changing second into first persons and adding for effect the phrase  $\text{EFOPOB EPOME}$  ‘hunting for man’. For the Devil as a hunter of man, see e.g. Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\text{ἀγρεύω}$  1; the motif occurs frequently in the works of Shenoute, e.g. *I Am Amazed* (ed. H.-J. Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Originistas* [Tübingen, 2011] 204).

$\text{NOE NNEIMOYI}$ : literally ‘like lions do’, here translated as ‘like a lion’. For the generic demonstrative, see above.

9. For the closeness in formulation of this paragraph to 23, see comm. ad loc.

10–25. After Pseleusius’ first story, Paphnutius begs him for another story and he obliges (10). This time Pseleusius tells of his journey into the deep desert, where

he meets two men by a spring, of which it is later revealed that their names are Anianus and Paul. They receive him with hospitality and Pseleusius asks them several questions (11). Their answer, the story of Anianus and Paul (12–24), is thus embedded in Pseleusius' second story (10–25). As noted in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 234–235, the story of Anianus and Paul mirrors Pseleusius' first story (4–9) as it contains the following elements: Anianus and Paul's background and their calling to the monastic life (12–13, cf. 4–5), how they enter the monastic community Hilltop and meet their master Zachaeus (14, cf. 6), the ascetic practices of Zachaeus, to which are added those by his disciples Matthew and Sarapamon (14–16, 18, cf. 6–7), how he dresses them in monastic clothes and instructs them (17–22, cf. 8), and accompanies them to their current place until they can live alone (23–24, cf. 9). The main difference between both stories, apart from the fact that they each work out the elements differently (e.g. Pseleusius enters the monastic life after a vision, whereas Anianus and Paul are inspired by passages from the Bible that they hear in church) and the second one is more elaborate, is that in 6–7 the ascetic practices of John are described, whereas in 14 a brief characterization of Zachaeus is followed by a description of the ascetic practices of his disciples Sarapamon and Matthew (14–16). Moreover, after Zachaeus' instructions in 17, the first sentence of 18 reverts to a description of Zachaeus' ascetic practices, including his habit of crying, which—after his disciples have asked about it—results in an extensive explanation by Zachaeus (18–22) that at the same time functions as further instruction. After Anianus and Paul have finished their story in 24, 25 serves to end Pseleusius' second story as it tells how he went back to his dwelling and hears from someone that Anianus and Paul have died. Upon hearing this 'our brother' Banouphiel, apparently from the same monastic community as Pseleusius and Zaboulon, fetches their bodies and buries them near his own place.

10. ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΔΙ 'I said to him': the manuscript has ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΔΙ 'he said to me' and Orlandi and Campagnano, *Vite*, 75 and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 77, followed by Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 235, take this 'he' to be John and the 'I' to be Pseleusius (as in 9), with which John becomes the narrator of the following story (11–25). However, this cannot be. In addition to the fact that the comparison with 12–24 indicates that we expect the master's role to have ended after he has taught his disciple how to live alone in 9 and it would be odd for John to say ἵπαρακαλεῖ μὴ ὁ'κ 'I beg you' to Pseleusius in 10 (even though we do not know how the sentence continues because of the lacuna), it is clear that Pseleusius is the narrator of the story since, when tempted to stay with Anianus and Paul, he remembers ΜΠΑϞΟΝ ΖΑΒΟΥΛ[ΩΝ] 'my brother Zaboulon' (11), with whom Pseleusius lives (3). Rather than John telling the story to Pseleusius on the tertiary level, then, Pseleusius narrates a second story on the second-

ary level and, instead of continuing on the secondary level in 10, we revert to the primary level, the conversation between Pseleusius and Paphnutius. Somewhere in the tradition, the transition from secondary to primary narrative in 10 was lost by switching round the persons of  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \nu\alpha\phi$ . We have adjusted our text accordingly.

11.  $\mu\pi\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\ \mu\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$  ‘around them’: refers to both the date palms and the spring.

$\epsilon\varphi\omega[\mu\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\gamma\text{ ---}]$ : the upper parts of some more letters are visible, but nothing is identifiable.

$\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \alpha\iota\tau\omega\beta\epsilon,\ \alpha\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varphi\tau\omicron,\ \pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varphi\alpha\gamma\zeta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$  ‘I planted, Apollo watered, God gave the growth’: the second quote from the letters to the Corinthians (this one 1 Cor. 3:6) also underlines the closeness between Pseleusius and Zaboulon, as Paul and his fellow teacher Apollo (Ἀπολλῶς in the Greek text) have a goal in common and are co-workers (see 1 Cor. 3:8–9). Note that the Coptic New Testament adds  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$  ‘but’ before  $\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varphi\alpha\gamma\zeta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ .

$\nu\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\ \nu\alpha\phi\ \nu\eta\epsilon;\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\ \omicron\gamma;\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \nu\iota\mu\ \kappa\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \nu\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\eta\rho\iota\tau\omega\kappa;\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\phi\ \nu\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha;$  ‘How did you arrive here? What do you eat? What are your names and where are you from? And how do you celebrate the Eucharist while you are here?’: of these questions, the fourth one is dealt with right away at the start of the account by Anianus and Paul in 12 (they are from Aswan), after which most of the rest of the account deals at length with an answer to the first question, which also has the most prominent position at the head of the series of questions (12–24): having left Aswan, they go to the monastic community Hilltop in the (outer) desert, where they meet Zachaeus, who instructs them in monasticism and accompanies them to their current place of living in the (inner) desert. The answer to the first question basically ends with their remark that they have lived here until today in 24, followed by a brief answer to the second and fifth questions (they eat dates from the surrounding palm trees and celebrate the Eucharist when they return to the outer desert). Interestingly, Anianus and Paul never give an answer to the third question, perhaps out of modesty, and we only hear their names when Pseleusius continues narrating in 25. A similar series of questions, also starting with  $\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\ \nu\alpha\phi\ \nu\eta\epsilon$ ; ‘How did you arrive here?’, is posed by Paphnutius to Timothy when they meet in *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 2b–3a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 206–207).

12–24.  $\nu\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \Delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  ‘They said’ in 12 opens the tertiary level of narration, the story of Anianus and Paul, which answers the questions of Pseleusius, in particular the first one (see above; their names are only given by Pseleusius after their account).

12–13. The beginning of the story of Anianus and Paul, where they describe their calling to monkhood, lays much emphasis on the close relationship between both men, in particular through repetition of  $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau$  and  $\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ :  $\epsilon\alpha\nu\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \sigma\gamma\eta\tau\ \underline{\sigma\gamma\omega\tau}\ \chi\iota\nu\ \epsilon\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\nu}\ \pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\ \kappa\omega\beta\eta\rho\ \underline{\epsilon\nu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma}\cdot\ \kappa\epsilon\omega\delta\alpha\nu\beta\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha\ \mu\tilde{\eta}\ \underline{\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma}$  ‘We have been of one mind ever since we are in the world and are friends with each other. We went to church together’ (12) ...  $\alpha\nu\tilde{\rho}\ \sigma\gamma\eta\tau\ \underline{\sigma\gamma\omega\tau}\ \mu\tilde{\eta}\ \underline{\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma}$  ‘we together made a joint decision’ ...  $\alpha\nu\varsigma\gamma\nu\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \mu\tilde{\eta}\ \underline{\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma}\ \epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$  ‘together we fixed a day’ (13). Tellingly, we hear in 25 that they died in the same month, only 17 days apart.

12.  $\sigma\omicron\gamma\alpha\nu$ : for Aswan in Late Antiquity, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 23–39, 45–122 (Part 1), with references. Together with the attestation in 12, the city occurs ten times in the *Life of Aaron* (29, 30, 71, 77, 99, 100, 109, 123 and 124).

The usage of  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  ‘city’ for Aswan throughout the text is interesting. Since the third or second century BC, the capital of the first Upper Egyptian nome, of which the First Cataract area forms the southernmost region, was at Omboi (Kom Ombo). With the reform of Septimius Severus around 201, in which all nome capitals were given  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  status, Omboi would have become a city and we know from *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004, which mentions its  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$  ‘councillors’, that it had this status at least by 567. Yet already in the Graeco-Roman period, the Cataract region seems to have had a special administrative status within the nome, with the traditional nome capital of Elephantine as its centre. Increasingly, however, Syene (the Greek name for Aswan) replaced Elephantine as most important town in the region and given its anomalous position within the nome it does not surprise that in several papyri from AD 577 onwards (the first attestation is *P.Lond.* v 1723.7, though the word  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  has to be supplied) it has attained city status. When we situate the *Life of Aaron* in the sixth century (Introduction, pp. 58–59), its mention of Aswan as a city would thus conform to what we know from the papyri. On the other hand, it is unclear how much weight can be placed on the multiple attestations of  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  for Aswan in this text, as Philae is also called a  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , but it is not known to have city status in the documentary texts (comm. on 29,  $\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa$ ). See J.H.F. Dijkstra, K.A. Worp, ‘The Administrative Position of Omboi and Syene in Late Antiquity’, *ZPE* 155 (2006) 183–187; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 33–34.

As is amply demonstrated by ongoing excavations at the site since 2000, Aswan was a sprawling city in Late Antiquity. The remains of three churches have been located so far: a church made up of reused blocks from a temple originally located on Elephantine (north of the present Coptic church, now gone), a church inside the former temple of Isis (Area 1) and a baptistery that must once have belonged to a larger church (Area 6). Given its regional importance,



Aswan received an episcopal see probably around 330; the first bishop, Neilammon, is attested in 343 (Ath. *apol. sec.* 49.3 [Opitz 2, p. 129 (no. 184)]). On account of its location on the southern Egyptian frontier, Aswan was also of strategic importance, especially after 298 when Diocletian withdrew the southern Egyptian frontier to the Cataract region (Procop. *Pers.* 1.19.27–37 = *FHN* III 328), and several army units are attested here: a *vexillatio* of the *Legio III Diocletiana* in 300 (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2.245–246), *Milites miliarenses* ca. 400 (probably another detachment; *Not. dign.* or. 31.35 [p. 64 Seeck]) and from 493 onwards even a ‘legion’ (*P.Lond.* v 1855.7 + *P.Münch.* I 15.23, 25), though at this later time the term λεγεών ‘legion’ became increasingly synonymous with ἀριθμός ‘regiment’.

The presence of army and Church in Syene is amply attested in the Patermouthis archive, a bilingual family archive dating between 493 and 613 with as main protagonist the boatman and soldier of this name. The archive also mentions three churches: a church of Mary, that of the well-known martyr Apa Victor (on which see A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints* [Paris, 2001] 62–68) and the cathedral church, which is possibly the excavated church in Area 6 mentioned above. Evidence for a monastery or monasteries within the city may be found in two papyri mentioning a monk (μονάζων) and a nun (μοναχή), respectively, who are both from Syene (*P.Lond.* v 1729, 1731.4, 39, 50).

⟨ΝΞΟΥΟ⟩ ΜΕ(Ν) ‘in particular’: the particle ΜΕΝ is problematic. It cannot be connected to the preceding phrase and makes most sense if it introduces the following quotes. We have therefore reconstructed ΝΞΟΥΟ in front of it, so that the phrase corresponds with ΔΥΩ, which introduces the second quote: ‘in particular’ ... ‘and’.

13. ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΝΕΙΩΔΔΕ ΝΩΝΞ̄ ‘When we heard these words of life’: as in 5 above (see comm. on ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΩΩΠΕ), there does not follow a main clause after the precursive (temporal). Instead, the author decides to add three more quotes from Matthew (16:25–26) to the two he already mentioned: Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤ̄Τ̄Ν̄ΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΔΕ ‘and similar ones, namely ...’. After the quotes the precursive is restated but in slightly different form with extraposed (left dislocated) ΝΑΙ ‘these things’ summing up the words just cited, in which the two precursives thus envelop, as it were, the three quotes: ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Μ̄ΟΥ ‘when we heard these things’.

⟨ΕΦΝΑ† ΖΗΥ ΝΟΥ⟩ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ † ΖΗΥ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡ̄ Ν̄† ΟCΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΦ-ΥΥΧΗ; ‘If a man gains the whole world and loses his soul, what profit will he have?’: unlike the rest of the quotations, which quite faithfully follow the New Testament text, this sentence differs in that the subject of the main clause (ΠΡΩΜΕ) has been added to the subordinate clause and the main clause is left

out. Since a main clause is missing, we have reconstructed it on the basis of the biblical model (Matt. 16:26), which starts as follows: *ερε πρωμε γαρ να† ρηγ νογ εφωαν † ρηγ ...* 'For what profit will a man have, if he gains ...'.

*απωαχε μπινογτε ρλοσ ντοοτν̄ νρογο επεβιω̄ μν̄ πιμολρ* 'The word of God was sweeter for us than honey and the honeycomb': a paraphrase of Ps. 18:11, which has *σερολσ επεβιω̄ μν̄ πιμολρ* 'they are sweeter than honey and the honeycomb' (ed. Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 27).

*ανσγνταζε* 'we arranged, fixed': Greek *συντάσσω* (see LSJ s.v. *συντάσσω* B; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *συντάσσω* II); for the spelling *γνταζε*, see Förster, *WB* s.v.

*ενχω μμοc ρε ραρηγ̄ ν̄λαμων̄ νετπιραζε μμον* 'thinking that perhaps it were the demons who tempted us': having fixed a date of departure, Anianus and Paul avoid taking the final step of actually leaving for fear that demons might have tempted them to do so (or blaming them for their own lack of resolve!). Fortunately, they later learn how to deal with demons, as their master Zachaeus teaches them *εθε̄ ετερε̄ ν̄λαμων̄ πιραζε̄ [ν̄]ρωμε̄ μμοc ρ̄ν̄ ογαωη̄ ν̄[cμo]τ̄* 'how the demons tempt men in many forms' (23).

*πκοορ* 'the Hilltop': on *κοορ*, see Crum, *Dict.* 132a–b and Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 91–92. The word does not mean 'corner, bend' here, as translated by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 954 and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 79, but '(hill) top', which is clearly also its meaning in 39 (comm. on *[ε]γνηχ ... ντοογ*), 90 (comm. on *εγσωκ ... μπετρα*), 96 (comm. on *ρα ... ντοογ*) and 130 (comm. on *ωαφωκ ... εγωσβ̄*), see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 250 (n. 101). For another possible toponym of this name, see *O.Crum* 57.2, which refers to a church of *πκωρ* 'the hilltop' near Jeme, with the remarks by Winlock and Crum, *Ephianus* 1, 118. For a brief discussion of the monastic community, see Timm 4.1953–1954. Since transportation by boat was indispensable in the Cataract region and the text does not say in which direction Anianus and Paul travel nor where they enter the desert, it is impossible to say where this community was located, though no doubt it was not far from Aswan where the desert is full of hills that can reasonably account for the toponym.

14. *ρενογρε* 'plenty': see Crum, *Dict.* 643a (s.v. *ρη*).

*ζαχαλιoc*: the Old Testament name Zachaeus is only sparingly attested in Late Antique Egypt, see *NB Kopt.* s.v. He is mentioned by name in our text at 14 (twice), 17 and 23.

*πραν̄ μπογᾱ μμοoȳ πε̄ σαρ[α]πam[ων]̄ αγω̄ πραν̄ μπκεογᾱ πε̄ μαθ̄-οαι[oc]* 'One of them was called Sarapamon and the other Matthew': the exact same phrase is used for Anianus and Paul in 25. Matthew and Sarapamon are common names in Egypt at this time (see *NB Copt.* s.v.; the name Matthew occurs 121 times [Nam\_ID 10451], Sarapam(m)on 718 times [Nam\_ID 7971]



16.  $\text{NEMEQΠΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΞ ΕΝ ΠΕΥ[Υ]ΔΧΕ ΕΘΗ Ζῆ ΛΑΔΥ ἸΩΔΑΧΕ}$  ‘for he never sought to let his word take precedence in any matter’: same expression as used for Zaboulon in 3 above (see comm. on  $\text{EMEQΟΥΩΥ} \dots \text{ἸΖ[ΩΒ]}$ ). For  $\text{ΠΘΕ}$  (Greek  $\text{πείθω}$ ) in the sense of ‘to wish, agree’, see Förster, *WB* s.v.  $\text{πείθω}$  1.

{ $\text{ἸΖ[ΖΕ]}$ }: since the following verb also starts with  $\text{ἸΖ-}$ , the scribe accidentally repeated the word  $\text{ἸΖΕ}$  ‘thus’ of a few words earlier. However, the word has no function here and is in the wrong position, and so we have deleted it from our text.

$\text{ἸΖ[ΝΟΙ] ΔΝ}$  ‘I do not know’: for  $\text{ΝΟΙ}$  as a rendering of  $\text{νῶέω}$  in Coptic, see Förster, *WB* s.v. Cf.  $\text{[ΔΝΓ ΟΥΔΑ]ΤCOOYN}$  ‘I am ignorant’, as spoken in a similar way by Zaboulon in 3.

17.  $\text{[ΠΕ]ΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΥ ΝΤΑΝΩΡΠ ΩΔ[ΧΕ] ΕΡΟΥ, ΕΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΧΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ, ΝΤΟΥ [ΠΕ]ΝΤΑΥΤCΑΒΟΝ}$  ‘Now it was the old man whom we have mentioned before, that is, Apa Zachaeus, who instructed us ...’: after the description of the good deeds of his old disciples Sarapamon (15) and Matthew (16), we now turn to the instructions that the master gives to his new disciples. Cf. the similarly extensive formulation in 7,  $\text{ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΡΠ ΩΔΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ, ΕΤΕ Ι[Ω]ΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΙΧΕ ΝΕΙΩΔΧΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῆ, ...}$  ‘that is, the one about whom I have talked before, namely John, about whom I spoke all these words, ...’, which is exactly at the same point in which, after providing some background information, the disciple tells about his dealings with the master. The difference between both passages is that in 6–7 Pseleusius first describes John’s ascetic practices, whereas in 15–17 the background information consists of the virtues of Zachaeus’ disciples and his ascetic practices are only described after this statement in 18.

$\text{[ΧΙΝ]ΤΑΦΕΙΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ}$  ‘since he engaged in’: the reading  $\text{[ΧΙΝ]ΤΑΦΕΙ}$  is suggested both by the logic of word division (which makes  $\text{[Ν]ΤΑΦΕΙ}$  less likely) and the logic of the story, which seems to say that the ascetic fervour of Zachaeus never diminished, despite his old age.

18–22. One of the salient features of Zachaeus’ way of life is that he often cries. When Anianus and Paul ask him why he cries so much, the master answers, by citing Matt. 5:4, that mourning actually brings relief from suffering. For weeping as a monastic vocation, a context in which Matt. 5:4 is often quoted, see W. Harmless, *Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004) 238–241. Cf. Shenoute, who in the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 12 (ed. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia* 1, 13), is said to have deeply sunken eyes from weeping. According to Zachaeus, two things are important to keep in mind here: one’s departure from the body (= death) and the remembrance of the day of judgment. He works out these two elements in the second, and more elaborate, exegesis of the work, this one of Exod. 17:10–13 (19–22).

After telling the story of Moses and Amalek through three paraphrases, the third of which is presented as a quote and is accompanied by a short explanation, the whole passage is explained by comparing the raising of Moses' hands to the raising of hands in prayer, in the form of the (victorious) cross (which already predicts the outcome), and the defeat of Amalek to the defeat of one's enemies (19), an interpretation that is already found in *Barn.* 12.2–3 (SC 172, pp. 166, 168) and Just. *dial.* 90.4–5 (p. 432 Bobichon), as well as Or. *hom. in Exod.* 11.4 (GCS 29, pp. 255–256), on which see F.J. Dölger, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens v g. Christusbekenntnis und Christusweihe durch Ausbreitung der Hände in Kreuzform', *JbAC* 5 (1969) 5–10 at 7–9. Prayer also plays a prominent role in the other main exegesis in the work (6), where several similar phrases are found:  $\pi\alpha\tau\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota\ \mu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\sigma\iota\chi$  'the raising of the hands' (19),  $\mu\pi\tau\gamma\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \tilde{\nu}$  'after the model of' (19) and  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\ \epsilon\chi\tilde{\nu}$  'to compare to' (first sentence of both 20 and 21). Of these, the usage of  $\mu\pi\tau\gamma\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \tilde{\nu}$  is especially noteworthy, as this phrase only occurs in these two passages in our text and is commonly used in other Coptic literary works for exegesis (see comm. on this phrase in 6 above).

In 20–21, the exegesis elaborates on the holding up of the hands by Aaron and Hur, in which Aaron stands for the places of rest in the heavens, joy in the heavenly Jerusalem, the throne and garments with which the holy men will be clothed, and paradise (20) and Hur is likened to the judgments, the sleepless worm, the valley of weeping, the gnashing of teeth, the outer darkness, the pit of the abyss, and the fiery river (21). All these elements are brought together, still in 21, by the statement that remembering 'these things' ( $\mu\alpha\iota$ ) during prayer will ensure that any request will reach God and will be honoured, and that it will result in the defeat of  $\pi\alpha[\mu\alpha]\lambda\eta\kappa\ \epsilon\{\tau\}\theta\eta\pi\ \mu\tilde{\nu}\ \mu\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$  'invisible Amalek and its agents', with which we thus return to the story of Moses and its comparison to prayer in 19.

The remembrance of the elements of Aaron and Hur during prayer is worked out further in 22, in which they are summarized by two terms that are regarded as the main reasons for prayer: joy because of the remembrance of the places of rest in heaven (= Aaron) and weeping because of the punishments in hell (= Hur). With this explanation, the exegesis ends. The closing statement harks back to the two elements mentioned in 18, one's departure from the body and the remembrance of the day of judgment, here represented as the remembrance of rest and suffering. It has now become clear that suffering is needed before rest can be attained, which explains the remark in 18 that mourning leads to relief from suffering and, in turn, Zachaeus' habit of crying.

18.  $\mu\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\ \chi\iota\mu\ \mu\epsilon\varphi\chi\pi\omicron\ \epsilon\varphi\eta\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\varsigma\gamma\mu\tau\epsilon\chi\iota\alpha\ \mu\iota\mu\ \mu\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon$  'He was a virgin from his birth, who fled all contact with women': almost the same formulation is found in 4, where Pseleusius' youth is described:  $\mu\epsilon$

ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΧΙΝ ΤΕΦΜΗΤΚΟΥΙ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΗΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΥΝΤΕΧΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΗΤΕ ΝΕΡΙΟΟΜΕ ‘He was a virgin from his childhood and fled all contact with women’.

ΧΙ ΖΡΑΦ ΝΙΜ ‘all amusement’: for ΧΙ ΖΡΑϝ ‘amuse’, see Crum, *Dict.* 648a.

ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ‘Father’: is a form of address here, hence ‘Father’ and not ‘My father’, as translated by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 955; Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 78; Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 81. For the more frequent use of ΠΑΘΟΝ ‘brother’ in this manner, see *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 30–31. Cf. for ΠΑΕΙΩΤ Crum, *Dict.* 87a.

ε{p}ΔΠΟΤΑΚΤΚΟΣ ‘ascetic’: since ὡς ‘it is fitting’ is usually followed by ε + infinitive (Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 488), as is indeed the case later on in the sentence with ΕΤΜΚΑ ΤΟΟΤῒ ΕΒΟΛ ‘not to stop’, the scribe erroneously made the noun ΔΠΟΤΑΚΤΚΟΣ after the first ε-, which is in fact a direct object marker, into a compound verb (light verb construction) by adding p.

ὡς ΓΑΡ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΚΩ ΖΑ ΕΙΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΩΟΜῒ[Τ] ΝΖΩΒ ‘for it is fitting for everyone to keep these three things in mind’: only two things follow, which are moreover not connected by a coordinating conjunction. One also expects two things here as Zachaeus mentions two elements—rest and suffering—in a similar phrase at the end of his account (see comm. on 22, ὡς ... ΣΝΑΥ below). Since the whole sentence is a bit muddled it is difficult to say what happened to the text here.

ΤΕΥΣΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ] Ζῒ ΣΩΜΑ ‘one’s departure from the body’: the plural ΤΕΥ- ‘their’ refers back to generic ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ‘everyone’, hence it is translated here as ‘one’s’. For ΣΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ‘departure’, Greek ἔξοδος, in the sense of death, see Crum, *Dict.* 72a; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἔξοδος 3.

19. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ‘indeed’: marks the beginning of the exegesis.

Ζῒ ΠΤΡῒϞΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΤΕΦΟΙΧ’ ΣῒΤΕ {ῒΟΙΧ} ΩΑΦ{Τῒ}ΣΩΤῒ ΜΠΑΜΑΛΗΚ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ Ζῒ [ΠΤΡ]ῒΕΝΤΟΥ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΩΑΦΣΩΤῒ [ΜΠ(ΣΡΑ)Η]Λ ΝΦΟΜ ΣΟΜ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΜΑΛΗΚ ‘when he raised both his hands he defeated Amalek and when he lowered them he defeated Israel, and Amalek prevailed’: a paraphrase of Exod. 17:11, in which the author has completely altered the construction of the sentence, changing the conditionals into adverbial infinitive phrases (Ζῒ ΠΤΡΕ-, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 236, 529; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 363, 490) and ‘Israel/Amalek prevailed’ into ‘he (Moses) defeated Amalek/Israel’; only the last phrase (ΣΟΜ ΣΟΜ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΜΑΛΗΚ) reminds of the original text (ed. A. Erman, ‘Bruchstücke der oberägyptischen Übersetzung des Alten Testamentes’, *NGWG* [1880], no. 12, 401–440 at 410, repr. in the apparatus of A. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1885] 48–49).

‘ΝΤΕΦΟΙΧ’ ΣῒΤΕ {ῒΟΙΧ}: the scribe first wrote ΣῒΤΕ ῒΟΙΧ ‘a pair of hands’ with ῒΟΙΧ after ΣῒΤΕ in the specifier construction and then decided to add

ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ above ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ and ⲉⲛⲧⲉ, with the noun in the more usual position before ⲉⲛⲧⲉ, ‘both his hands’ (see Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §70b).

ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲕⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲓⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ, ⲱⲣ ⲉⲱⲱⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲃⲟⲩⲣⲓⲣⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲩⲟⲙⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ⲱⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲗⲏⲕ ‘For the Holy Scripture says that Aaron raised the right hand of Moses and Hur his left hand, and thus as they lifted his hands together in perfect harmony Amalek was defeated’: another paraphrase, this one of Exod. 17:12–13. By comparison, in Exod. 17:12 the uplifting of Moses’ hands comes before the remark that Aaron and Hur were on either side supporting him, and the defeat of Amelek by Joshua is mentioned in Exod. 17:13.

ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲕⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲓⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ⲱⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ‘And the Holy Scripture also says: And Aaron lifted his hands until the evening’: despite the explicit phrasing, the statement here is clearly a paraphrase of, not a quote from, Exod. 17:12, where both Aaron and Hur support the hands of Moses and different words are used. For ⲡⲉⲕⲉ/-ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥ as a quotative index, see P. Nagel, ‘ⲡⲉⲕⲉ ⲓⲥ. Zur Einleitung der Jesuslogien im Thomasevangelium’, *GM* 195 (2003) 73–79, introducing biblical quotes at pp. 75–76.

ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁⲗⲏⲕ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁⲗⲏⲕ ‘who defeated Amalek by raising his hands’: picks up the phrase ⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ‘c̣ṇte {ṇse}’ ⲱⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲓⲗ ‘when he raised both his hands he defeated Amalek’ at the beginning of 19, though now with the adverbial infinitive phrase (without ⲧⲣⲉ) behind the verb.

20–21. Both paragraphs start with the same clause ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲕⲛ̣ ‘Scripture compares him to’ with the name in extraposition (left dislocated) at the head of the sentence. The contrast between the elements to which Aaron and Hur are compared that follow the clause is indicated by ⲙⲉⲛ ... ⲁⲉ and adding contrastive ⲉⲱⲱⲓ ‘on the other hand’ in 21.

20. ⲁⲕⲡⲉⲱ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ, ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲣⲧⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲓ ‘You have torn my sackcloth, you have girded me with joy’: the slight variant ⲁⲕⲡⲉⲱ for ⲁⲕⲡⲉⲩ ‘you have torn’ in Ps. 29:12 (ed. E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* [London, 1898] 31) can be imagined due the closeness in spelling and meaning of both verbs, though one would rather expect ⲡⲱⲩ in this context. Cf. 101, ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲱⲓ ‘whose clothes were torn’.

ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲓ ‘joy’: is the translation of εὐφροσύνη in the Greek New Testament, and takes up one of the elements to which Aaron is likened (ⲧⲉⲩⲧⲣⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ) in the previous sentence.

ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲣ ⲡⲓⲙⲡⲓⲱⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲛ̣ ⲛⲱⲣⲡⲓⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲩ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ ‘She will celebrate in communion with the firstborn who are written in the heavens’: only from ⲛⲱⲣⲡⲓⲙⲓⲥⲉ onwards is this a direct quote from Heb. 12:23. ‘She’ refers to

‘heavenly Jerusalem’, mentioned in the sentence before the quotes,  $\tau\epsilon\gamma\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\gamma\tilde{\eta}\theta\iota\epsilon(\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma\alpha)\lambda\eta\mu\tilde{\eta}\tau\tau\iota\epsilon$  ‘the joy which is in heavenly Jerusalem’, and the two quotes thus particularly emphasize this element with which Aaron is compared. ‘Heavenly Jerusalem’ is mentioned in Heb. 12:22 and  $\pi\omega\alpha$  ‘the festival’ in Heb. 12:23, which is made here into the compound verb (light verb construction)  $\rho\pi\omega\alpha$  ‘to celebrate’.

$\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\rho\pi\{\tilde{\mu}\pi\}\omega\alpha$  ‘She will celebrate’: the scribe erroneously read  $\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\rho\pi\tilde{\mu}\pi\omega\alpha$  ‘she will become worthy’, a common expression but one which makes no sense in this context.

$\mu\tilde{\eta}$  [ $\pi\pi\alpha$ ]  $\rho\alpha\Delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$  ‘and the paradise’: after two biblical citations, with  $\mu\tilde{\eta}$  we return to the series of elements which Aaron represents, thus  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\phi\eta\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\mu\mu\text{'}\omicron\text{'}\epsilon\chi\tilde{\eta}$  ‘Scripture compares him to’ from the beginning of the sentence has to be supplied.

$\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\epsilon\chi\tilde{\mu}\pi[\gamma\eta\tau]\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  ‘(things that) have not entered the hearts of men’: for  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ )  $\epsilon\chi\tilde{\eta}$  ‘enter into (one’s heart)’, see Crum, *Dict.* 4b and Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  II B.

21.  $\eta\kappa[\rho\iota]\varsigma\iota\varsigma\mu\tilde{\eta}\pi\omega(\tilde{\eta})\tau\eta\alpha\tau\tilde{\eta}\kappa\omicron\tau\tilde{\kappa}\mu\tilde{\eta}[\pi\epsilon\iota]\alpha\mu\pi\tilde{\rho}\iota\mu\epsilon\mu\tilde{\eta}\pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\gamma\tilde{\eta}\eta\eta\sigma\upsilon\beta[\gamma\epsilon]\mu\tilde{\eta}\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\tau\gamma\iota\upsilon\omicron\lambda\mu\tilde{\eta}\tau\omega\omega\tau[\epsilon]\mu\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma\omega\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\eta\kappa\omega\gamma\tilde{\tau}[\pi]\epsilon\tau\varsigma\omega\kappa\epsilon\tau\text{'}\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$  ‘the judgments, the worm that never sleeps, the valley of weeping, the gnashing of teeth, the outer darkness, the pit of the abyss and the river of fire that flows and frightens immensely’: these are common eschatological notions in the Bible and early Christian literature. See in particular Mark 9:48 (cf. Isa. 66:24; sleepless worm), Matt. 8:12 (outer darkness; weeping and gnashing of teeth) and Rev. 9:1 (pit of the abyss); the river of fire is often considered typically Egyptian, though cf. Dan. 7:10. They were popularized through such influential apocrypha as the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in the Sahidic version, fol. 25b, 11a, 16a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 558: outer darkness, place of weeping and gnashing of teeth; 538: fiery river; 546: pit of the abyss; for this text, only preserved in Coptic in a manuscript from the Esna-Edfu find, see Roig Lanzilotta, ‘Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*’; a new edition is in preparation by L. Roig Lanzilotta and J. van der Vliet). They also occur in monastic literature, such as the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 4a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 208: gnashing of teeth, outer darkness; sleepless worm). For these notions, see e.g. M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983) 107–112, 116–119; on the river of fire, C.-M. Edsman, *Le baptême de feu* (Leipzig and Uppsala, 1940) 57–93, citing various other Coptic sources.

$[\pi\epsilon\iota]\alpha\mu\pi\tilde{\rho}\iota\mu\epsilon$  ‘the valley of weeping’: reading assured by the correct syllabic word division  $[\pi\epsilon\iota]|\alpha$ ; cf. Ps. 83:7. The entire passage (21–22) recalls an *apophthegma*-style mural *dipinto* in Deir el-Sheikha, near el-Kubaniya, a few



kilometers north-west of Aswan (cf. Timm 4.2074–2075): + <ϣ>ϣε επιμοναχος εκω ρα ιετῷ | ἡπῖρμιεγε ἡπιμογ ἡῖ ἡκολασις | ἡῖ πεια ἡπριμε ἡῖ πβηνῖ | ἡατῖκοτῖ δαω τεϋ|σι(ῖ)απαντα επι(ῖ)ογτε + ‘+ It is fitting for the monk to keep in mind the remembrance of death, the punishments (in hell), the valley of weeping, the worm that never sleeps and his appearance before God. +’ (H. Junker, *Das Kloster am Isisberg: Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien bei El-Kubanieh* [Vienna and Leipzig, 1922] 45–46, quoted in R. Dekker, ‘Dayr al-Kubbaniya: Review of the Documentation on the “Isisberg” Monastery’, in Gabra and Takla, *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, 93–103 at 97).

περπιεεγε ἡῖα ‘remembrance of these things’: refers both to the elements to which Hur is compared in the immediately preceding sentence and to those associated with Aaron in 20, as it appears from 22 that one should pray remembering two things, both joy (= Aaron) and weeping (= Hur). With this sentence we thus come to the interpretation of all the elements combined.

ἡπῖαγ ετεϋναωλη[λ] ‘at the time in which he is going to pray’: for ἡπῖαγ + relative ‘at the time of’, see Crum, *Dict.* 235a. The phrase picks up the comparison between Moses raising his hands and someone raising his hands in prayer at the end of 19. The result, the defeat of Amalek/all enemies is combined in the next sentence by θαϋσωτῖ ἡπα[μα]ληκ ε{τ}ῖθῖπ ἡῖ νεϋενεργια ‘it (i.e. the prayer) defeats the invisible Amalek and its agents’ (see further entry below).

ϋενεργει ‘it is effective’: the scribe first wrote ϋρ, possibly on account of the ϣ further on, and then corrected it to ϋε. There is also a false superlinear stroke above both letters, which can be explained by the initial sequence ϋρ.

θαϋσωτῖ ἡπα[μα]ληκ ε{τ}ῖθῖπ ἡῖ νεϋενεργια ‘it (prayer) defeats the invisible Amalek and its agents’: with ‘the invisible Amalek and its agents’ demons are meant, by this time a common *topos* in monastic literature, cf. e.g. Stephen of Hnes, *Panegyric on Apollo* 4 (ed. K.H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on Apollo, Archimandrite of the Monastery of Isaac, by Stephen, Bishop of Heracleopolis Magna*, vol. 1 [Leuven, 1978] 6), in which the saint’s prayer is called ογῖνϋι ερραι ἡνεϋσιλ εγογδδβ· ναῖ ετο ηρεϋσωτῖ ἡῖαμαρακιτῖς (read ἡῖαμα-λακιτῖς) ἡῖοητον ‘a raising of his holy hands, which were victors over the spiritual Amalekites’.

22. πρδϣε ἡῖ πριμε ‘joy and weeping’: summarizes under two main labels the elements to which Aaron (20) and Hur (21), respectively, have been compared in the previous paragraphs and mentions them as the main reasons for prayer. This is then worked out by the explanation that joy comes about from πῖρμιε[ϋε] ἡῖμα ἡῖτον ετῖῖ ἡπῖγε ‘the remembrance of the places of rest in heaven’, the same phrase as used for the first element with which Aaron is compared in 20, and weeping is the result of πῖρῖμ[εεγε] ἡῖκολασις ετῖῖ

ἀμῆντε ‘the remembrance of the punishments in hell’. Note that the contrast between ‘joy’ and ‘weeping’ is again indicated by ΜΕΝ ... ΔΕ ΖΩΩΘ, as in 20–21. This explanation concludes the exegesis of Exod. 17:10–13.

{ΠΡΙΜΕ Μῆ}: the insertion of these two words here does not make any sense and we have therefore excluded them from our text.

ΕΤΖῆ ΜΠΗΥΕ ‘in heaven’: the scribe erroneously turned round Ν and Μ and wrote ΕΤΖῆ ΜΠΗΥΕ, even if he had written the same words correctly in 20.

ΝΚΟΛΑCIC ΕΤΖῆ ἀμῆντε ‘the punishments in hell’: for a detailed description of a wide range of punishments envisaged for the afterlife, see e.g. *Apocalypse of Paul*, Sahidic version, fol. 10a–19a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 537–550), and generally in early Christian literature, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, *passim*.

[ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ] ‘therefore’: introduces Zachaeus’ concluding statement.

ΩΥΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ [ΝΙΜ Ε]ΚΩ ΖΑ ΕΙΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΡΙΜΕΥΕ [Μ]ΠΕΙΖΩΒ CΝΑΥ ‘it is fitting for everyone to keep in mind these two things’: picks up the similar statement ΩΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΚΩ ΖΑ ΕΙΑΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΩΜῆ[Τ] ΝΕΩΒ ‘for it is fitting for everyone to keep these three things in mind’ in 18 (with comm. ad loc.). No doubt, the two things that are actually mentioned in 18, the departure of sufferings from the body and the remembrance of the day of judgment, equal the two elements, rest and suffering, that follow here.

ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCIC ... [Ν]ΡΙCΕ ... ἡΤΕΡῆΡΙCΕ ... [ΤΗΝΑ]ΖΕ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥCIC ‘rest ... suffering ... when we have suffered ... we shall find rest’: *chiasmus*, a fitting figure of speech at the end of Zachaeus’ account.

23. Of all the elements which the first story of Pseleusius has in common with the story of Anianus and Paul, this paragraph, describing the same situation of the master staying with his disciple(s) in the desert as in 9, is the closest in formulation. Cf. esp. ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΕΝΤῆ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΔΥCΩ ΖΑΖΤΗΝ ἡΖΕΝ-ΖΟΟΥ ΩΑΝΤΕΥΤCΑΒΟΙ ΕΤCΙΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΑΥΑΔΤ ΖΙ ΠΧΑΙΕ, ΕΑΥΤῆ ΕΤΟΟΤ ἡΖΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ‘Thus he brought me to this place and remained with us for some days until he had taught me how to live alone in the desert. And he imposed upon me some commandments’ (9) with ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ... ΩΑΤΕΥΕΝΤῆ Ε[ΖΟΥ]Ν ΕΠΕΙΜΑ. ΔΥCΩ ΖΑΖΤΗΝ ἡ[ΖΕΝ]ΚΟΥΙ ἡΖΟΟΥ ΩΑΝΤῆΝΟΙ ΝΤCΙ(Ν)[ΟΥ]ΩΖ ΖΙ ΠΧΑΙΕ, ΕΑΥΤῆ ΕΤΟΟΤῆ ἡ[ΖΕΝ]ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ‘Accordingly, ... until he brought us here. He remained with us for some days until we became familiar with the way of living in the desert. And he imposed strict commandments ... on us’ (23). In both passages, the disciples receive instruction on how to deal with demons and how to fight them, in which ΤCΙΝΜΙΩΕ ‘the fight’ in 9 is elaborated on in 23 with a quote from Eph. 6:12 containing ΠΕΝΜΙΩΕ ‘our fight’. In addition to being more detailed, 23 also adds certain elements: the imposition of nightly vigils, a moderate diet and rules for visitors. The addition of the last element is particularly relevant,

as before their story, in 11, Anianus and Paul have indeed received Pseleusius (see also comm. on  $\alpha\gamma\omega \dots \eta\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$  below).

$\omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$  ‘until he brought us’: the usual form in Sahidic is  $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ , see Introduction, pp. 28, 33.

$\omega\alpha\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\eta\iota$  ‘until we became familiar’: for the form  $\eta\eta\iota$ , see comm. on 16,  $\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\eta\eta\iota \Delta\eta$ .

$\alpha\gamma\omega \alpha\varphi\tau\alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta \epsilon\varphi\epsilon\eta\kappa\omega\tau \chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\varphi\omega\alpha\eta \chi\epsilon\eta\kappa\eta\eta\gamma \epsilon\iota \omega\alpha\varphi\eta\eta \epsilon\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\gamma \eta\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$  ‘And he told us to observe certain rules whenever brothers came to us’: this evidently includes the offering of food and drink, which they give to Pseleusius when he has arrived at their small oasis in 11, just as it is said of John that he kept three loaves of bread in his cell for visitors in 7.

24.  $\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\eta\omega\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\iota \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \epsilon\pi\tau\omega\sigma\gamma \epsilon\tau\chi\iota\beta\omega\lambda \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\varsigma\gamma\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon \eta\bar{\eta} \eta\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\gamma \chi\bar{\eta}\eta \pi\varsigma\alpha\beta\text{-}\eta\alpha\tau\omega\eta \eta\bar{\eta} \tau\kappa\gamma\eta\alpha\kappa\eta$  ‘And whenever we go into the outer desert, we celebrate the Eucharist together with the brothers on Saturday and Sunday’: for a subordinate clause with the conditional and a conjunctive in the main clause (the apodotic conjunctive), see Introduction, p. 26. ‘The brothers’ are no doubt  $\chi\epsilon\eta\kappa\eta\eta\gamma \epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma\alpha\beta$  ‘some holy brothers’ (14) in the monastic community of Hilltop, with whom Anianus and Paul lived before they moved into the inner desert and they apparently stayed in touch. If so, the community, which is said to be in the desert in 13 (see comm. on 13,  $\pi\kappa\omega\sigma\gamma$ ), was located in the outer desert, as is also to be expected. It is likely to have been a *laura*, just as the community in which Pseleusius and Zaboulon lived (see comm. on 2,  $[\eta\tau\epsilon]\rho\epsilon \dots \eta\tau\bar{\eta}[\gamma\eta\eta\alpha]\chi\iota\varsigma$ ).

25.  $\Delta\eta\kappa \Delta\epsilon \Delta\iota\epsilon\iota \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \chi\iota\tau\omega\sigma\tau\omega\gamma, \Delta\iota\omega\gamma\omega\chi \chi\bar{\eta}\eta \pi\alpha\mu\alpha \eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$  ‘I went away from them and lived in my dwelling’: we are back at the secondary level of narration with Pseleusius. As is said at the beginning of the story, Pseleusius is tempted to stay with Anianus and Paul in the inner desert, probably because he has been so kindly received, but remembers his brother Zaboulon, with whom he lives, and  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\omega\varsigma\omega \eta\pi\epsilon\varphi\beta\omega\lambda$  ‘I could not stay away from him’ (11). After Anianus and Paul have finished their story, Pseleusius thus returns to Zaboulon (see also comm. on 3,  $\sigma\gamma\kappa\omega\eta \dots \chi\alpha\{\gamma\}\beta\omega\gamma\lambda\omega\eta$ ).

$\pi\eta\alpha\eta \eta\pi\omega\gamma\alpha \eta\mu\omega\sigma\gamma \pi\epsilon \Delta\eta\eta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma \alpha\gamma\omega \pi\eta\alpha\eta \eta\pi\kappa\epsilon\omega\gamma\alpha \pi\epsilon \pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omega\varsigma$  ‘one of them was called Anianus and the other Paul’: exact same phrase as used for Matthew and Sarapamon in 14. Unlike Paul, which was an extremely popular name in Late Antique Egypt, Anianus, which is originally a Roman name that is usually spelled Annianus, is less frequent. A search in Trismegistos People yields 61 hits, dating between the second and seventh centuries, of which only six attestations have the spelling  $\text{Ἀνιανός}$  as in our text (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 8558). *NB Kopt.* s.v. lists the name, without attestation, and it is apparently not found in other Coptic texts.

ΠΕΝΘΟΝ ΒΑΝΟΥΦΙΗΛ ‘our brother Banouphiel’: the name, which looks like that of an angel, is not attested elsewhere. He appears to be from the monastic community of Pseleusius and Zaboulon, rather than from Hilltop, as Pseleusius calls him ‘our brother’. Like Zaboulon (see comm. on 3, ΖΑΨΥΒΟΥΛΩΝ), Banouphiel is among the saints, this one no. 21, depicted in a decorated cave at the monastery of Hatre at Aswan, dated to the seventh or eighth century, where the legend reads ΑΠΑ ΒΑΝΟΥ[ΦΙΗ]Λ. We would like to thank Gertrud van Loon and Sebastian Richter for sharing photos and a preliminary transcription of the legend with us.

## Section 2. The History of the First Bishops of Philae (26–85)

*The second section (26–85) consists of five parts. In a—literally and figuratively—transitory passage, Paphnutius and his conversation partner of the first section, Pseleusius, decide to travel to an island in the middle of the Cataract to hear the story of Isaac. They are kindly welcomed and upon Paphnutius’ request Isaac begins a narrative that takes in the remainder of the work. He starts out with a legendary history of the first four bishops of Philae that he heard from his master Aaron (26–28). The first of these stories concerns Macedonius who as its first bishop is actively involved in the conversion of the island (29–54). The following three stories have the same structure and describe the episcopates of Mark (55–74), Isaiah (75–78) and Psoulousia (79–85), in particular how they were elected, travelled to Alexandria to be ordained by the patriarch and were joyfully received in their see. Since Mark and Isaiah play a prominent role in the conversion story of Philae and are the disciples of Macedonius, their stories are intricately linked. Psoulousia’s story has a bit of a different emphasis as he is the only one to enter the episcopate as a monk. To his story a miracle in Alexandria is also added.*

*26–28. Even though this passage starts out in 26 with a statement that concludes both of Pseleusius’ stories, the return to the conversation with Paphnutius at the same time sets in motion the following events. Pseleusius decides to add some further words about a certain Isaac. Upon hearing this, Paphnutius gets so excited that he asks Pseleusius to actually bring him to the holy man. An adventurous boat journey on the Cataract follows and they are received with great hospitality by Isaac (27–28), in a similar way to the opening scene (1–2), where Paphnutius is received by Pseleusius and Zaboulon. After they have eaten, Paphnutius starts a conversation with Isaac that basically frames the following two sections. He asks the holy man to tell his story but Isaac instead tells a story that he has heard from his master, Aaron, that he in turn has heard from Bishop Macedonius of*

*Philae (28). 26–28 thus serves as the anchor point between section 1 (Pseleusius' two stories) and sections 2–3 (Isaac's two stories). The end of 28 also introduces the stories of the first bishops of Philae (section 2), and in particular that of Macedonius.*

26. ΕΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΑΝΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΗΗΖ ΖΙ ΠΧΑΙΕ, ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΙCΟΤΜΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΗΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ. 'Well then, my brother Paphnutius, we have told you these things about those who live in the desert, about those whom I have seen and heard as well as the recollection of their fathers whom they succeeded, and their perfection (in death)': the return to primary level of narration is signalled by ΕΙC ... ΟΥΝ 'well ... then', extraposed (left dislocated) ΝΑΙ 'these things' and the direct address of Paphnutius. This is a fitting conclusion to both of Pseleusius' stories, which underlines the transmission of knowledge from master to disciple (as we have seen between John and Pseleusius, and Zachaeus and Anianus and Paul [and Matthew and Sarapamon before them], just as in a way now between Pseleusius and Paphnutius) and at the same time explains the shifting narrative levels that authenticate these stories. ΜΗ ΠΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'and their perfection (in death)' refers to several of the holy men whose death has been reported in the preceding narrative: Sarapamon (15, where the same verb for dying, ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ, is used, see comm. on ΘΑ ... ΕΒΟΛ for its meaning), Matthew (16), Zachaeus (24) and Anianus and Paul (25). Of these, only the dying day of Sarapamon is not indicated.

ΟΥΟΝ ΠΕΤΗΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΛΛΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΑΚ 'There is something (more) we would like to say about the holy old man Apa Isaac': the indefinite pronoun ΟΥΟΝ is the first constituent in a cleft sentence that marks a change of subject (Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §465).

ΠΑ ΠΕΙΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΥC 'of great renown': despite Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 80 and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 84 (with n. 22), the phrase does not necessarily refer to a deceased person ('di buona memoria'/'of blessed memory'), even if this is the usual meaning, see e.g. the letter of Nastasia to Bishop Pesynthius of Koptos (ca. 568–632; ed. H. Sottas, 'Une nouvelle pièce de la correspondance de Saint Pesunthios', in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion* [Paris, 1922] 494–502 at 495), in which the bishop is addressed with the exact same phrase (l. 5, translated by the editor as 'qui jouit d'une si belle renommée') but he cannot be dead as Nastasia expects a delivery of a roll of papyrus from him. The same should be the case here as Isaac is about to be visited by Pseleusius and Paphnutius, and we have thus translated 'of great renown'.

ΝΤΑΥΡ {Δ}ΤΑΡΧΗ ΗΠΕΦΒΙΟC < --- > 'who spent the beginning of his life': something is missing here, probably an indication of the place where Isaac

came from. Since it is impossible to know what expression was used, however, we have refrained from supplying the missing text.

{Δ}ΤΑΡΧΗ: the scribe probably started with the Δ and then, realizing that he had omitted the definite article, started anew with Τ.

ΕΤΟΥΗΗΖ ΖΝ ΤΗΗΣΟΣ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΜΗΗΤΕ ΜΠΚΑΤΑΖΡΑΚΤΗΣ ΜΠΡΗΣ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΑ ΥΤΟΟΥ ΜΗΗΛΙΟΝ ‘who lives on the island in the middle of the Cataract, about four miles to the south of us’: a precise topographical indication, which presupposes detailed knowledge of the region. The Cataract refers to the area of the Nile at Aswan where the river widens as it crashes into a mass of granite, creating numerous islands and a strong current (the Greek word καταράκτης is derived from καταράσσω ‘rush down’). It is the first in a series of currents in the Nile when counting in a southward direction and the traditional border between Egypt and Nubia. For the First Cataract, see in general, J. Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1999) 1–4, 98–103 and Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 24 and *passim*.

The island in the middle of the Cataract can be positively identified. It cannot be Philae, as it is mentioned by its name or referred to as ‘the city’ throughout the work (see comm. on 29, ΠΕΙΛΑΚ). Furthermore, Bishop Psoulousia, who lives on the same island as Isaac, has to be brought to Philae by boat when he has been elected bishop (79) and after his appointment first returns ΕΠΕΥΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΗΗΣΟΣ ‘to his cell on the island’ before being taken, again on a boat, to Philae (82), which is clearly a different place (see comm. on 79, ΖΝ ΨΗΗΣΟΣ). The most likely candidate for the island is el-Hesa (see Fig. 2). In Antiquity, it was probably connected to Biga (and perhaps Awad), was by far the largest island in the Cataract, dominating its southern end, and was situated in its middle. Since it is said that the island is about four Roman miles (ΜΗΗΛΙΟΝ, Greek μ(ε)ίλιον), that is, approximately 6 km, to the south of where Pseleusius lives, which is roughly the distance between Aswan and el-Hesa, the monastic community of Pseleusius is no doubt located somewhere in the vicinity of Aswan (see comm. on 3, ΟΥΚΟΝ ... ΖΔ{Υ}ΒΟΥΛΩΝ). For el-Hesa, see Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, 159–164. For the identification of the island in the middle of the Cataract with el-Hesa, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 248–249, cf. Timm 3.1052–1053.

ΠΕΖΛΛΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ‘the holy old man Apa Aaron’: the first time in which the main protagonist of the work is mentioned. He is the binding factor between Isaac’s two stories in sections 2 and 3, as Isaac states that he has heard his first story, on the early bishops of Philae, from him (28, repeated in 86, see comm. on ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ... ΠΕΠ]ΚΟΠΟΣ and ΤΕΝΟΥ ... ΖΩΩΤ, respectively) and devotes the second story entirely to his life and deeds. At the beginning of

his first story, he even claims that Aaron heard the story of Macedonius first hand from the bishop himself, though this appears to be a literary device, as later on in the story he is said to have lived his monastic life under Psoulousia, the fourth bishop (ca. 385; see comm. on 28, ἐπειδὴ ... [πεπν]σκοπος and 79, πάλι ... τεφμῆτεπισκοπ'ο'ς). From the text we learn that Aaron was a military official before he became a monk at Scetis and then moved on to Philae (86–88, 127). He lived in the Valley, a wadi north-east of Philae (comm. on 37, πάλι), where he was buried next to the first three bishops of Philae upon his death on 4 May (137).

Aaron was probably a locally venerated saint, as he was never included in the *Synaxarium*, just as in the case of Moses of Abydos (R.-G. Coquin, 'Moïse d'Abydos', in J.-M. Rosenstiehl [ed.], *Deuxième journée d'études coptes* [Leuven, 1986] 1–14, and 'Moses of Abydos', in *Copt. Enc.* v [1991] 1679–1681; P. Grossmann, 'Zu Moses von Abydos und die Bischöfe seiner Zeit', *BSAC* 38 [1999] 51–64; note, though, that Moses is briefly mentioned in the *Synaxarium*, at 7 Parmoute [2 April], under his disciple Macrobius [*PO* 16, p. 291]). Nevertheless, as we have seen in the Introduction, pp. 13, 15–16, by the year 992 our only completely preserved manuscript bears witness to a *topos* dedicated to Apa Aaron in the desert of Edfu and a festival held in his honour, presumably on his dying day at 4 May. Moreover, from the cathedral of Faras a wall painting of the beginning of the eleventh century has been preserved showing Aaron in praying gesture with above his head a *dipinto* in a mixture of Greek and Coptic that reads + Ἀββα ε[ΛΑΡΩΝ - - - ἀναχ]ωριτῆς 'Abba Aaron [...] anchorite' and below an invocation of Jesus and Ἀββα ε[ΛΑΡΩΝ] (Łukaszewicz, 'En marge d'une image', with further references; add now S. Jakobielski et al., *Pachoras—Faras: The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* [Warsaw, 2017] 277–279 [no. 82], where the painting is dated more specifically to the early eleventh century). Thus, there is some evidence to suggest that at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, his cult had spread both north and southwards. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 229–230.

The name ε[ΛΑΡΩΝ], which is a Coptic variant of the biblical name Aaron and is explicitly distinguished in our text from the biblical Aaron (spelled α[ΛΑΡΩΝ], 19–20), is fairly well attested in Coptic documents and inscriptions: Trismegistos People lists 52 attestations (see <http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, under Nam\_ID 8275). See also Heuser 106; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

α[ΛΑΡΩΝ] ΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΦΟΙΛΑ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΒ ΕΛΕΣΑΙΟΒ ΕΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΖΗΛΙΑΒ 'he poured water on his hands, just as the great Elisha did with the prophet Elijah': a reference to the famous words in 2 Kgs. 3:11 illustrating not only the subordinate role of Isaac to his master Aaron but also his association with the holy man.

εὔρωβε ενεεγερηγ ‘different’: ρωβε is the stative of ριβε and with the direct object marker ε- means ‘to be different from’ (Crum, *Dict.* 552b), hence the phrase literally means ‘which are different from each other’.

27. (N)ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΜΟΣ: the scribe forgot to insert the direct object marker that is technically required before the two M’s. μακαρισμός, translated as ‘eulogy’, is used here in the sense of ‘pronouncement of blessedness’ (Lampe, *PGL* s.v. μακαρισμός 1).

αισιπσι παειωτ [πς]ελεγσιος ‘I begged my father Pseleusius’: just as in 10 (†παρακαλει μη’οκ, παειωτ πσελεγσιος ‘I beg you, my father Pseleusius’), Paphnutius shows his eagerness, in this case to take him to Isaac.

αναλε εγκογι νκαφος ανρ ζωτ ερηс ετρηνωκ ρα πρλλο ετογααβ απα ισαακ. νεγν̄ ρεννοσ δε νωνε ρητ ρ̄ν̄ πμοογ ντμηντε μπειερο ερε πμοογ ετ̄ν̄μαγ ωω εβολ εφο̄ ν̄ροτε ‘We went on board a small boat and sailed southwards to visit the holy old man Apa Isaac. There were large rocks rising from the water in the middle of the river, and the water there roared out in a terrifying way’: this description of a boat ride on the Cataract conforms entirely to the accounts in the classical sources. We know from Strabo (17.1.49), who visited the region and witnessed a show put up by local boatmen, that only small boats (σκάφαι) could sail up the Cataract and an experienced boatman was needed to circumnavigate its treacherous waters. For the large rocks rising from the water and the terror that this middle part (ὁ μεσάζων τόπος) instilled in people, cf. D.S. 1.32.8–9; Strabo speaks of πετρώδης τις ὄφρὺς ‘a brow of rock, as it were’. The tremendous noise that the rapids produced—now significantly reduced because of the building of the Aswan High Dam—is a recurrent theme in several of the sources, e.g. Cic. *rep.* 6.18, who even states that the inhabitants of the region are deaf because of the noise, and Plin. *nat.* 5.54. See Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, 98–101; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 249.

παρα ογκογι ‘almost’: for a diachronic analysis of expressions for ‘almost’ in Sahidic and Bohairic literary texts, see M. Müller, S. Uljas, “‘He Almost Heard’. A Case Study of Diachronic Reanalysis in Coptic Syntax”, in P. Collombert et al. (eds), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l’honneur de Pascal Vernus* (Leuven, 2016) 465–491, who at p. 481 (no. 44) cite this passage as an example of παρα ογκογι in its function as an adjunct in clause-final position.

εγογααβ: the manuscript has εγαααβ; Budge has εγ[ογ]ααβ but the first α is certain.

αφεινε νογλακανη μμοογ αφειω̄ ν̄ν̄ενογρη[η]τε ‘He brought a basin of water and washed our feet’: an act of hospitality and humility, in imitation of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples at the Last Supper: αγω αφνεχ̄ μμοογ ετλακανη αφαρχεῑ νειω̄ ν̄νογερητε ν̄μ̄μαθητης ‘And he poured water into the basin and started to wash the feet of the disciples’ (John 13:5). The washing



of somebody else's feet is a *topos* in Egyptian monastic literature, e.g. *h. mon.* 21.7 (p. 125 Festugière) and *Apophth. Patr.*, Alph. Coll., John the Persian 3 and Mios 2 (*PG* 65, cols 237, 301). For this reason and the fact that it makes better sense within the context in which Isaac receives his guests with both humility and hospitality, we have changed ἀνειῶ ἡμενοῦρη[η]τε 'we washed our feet' in the manuscript into ἀφειῶ ἡμενοῦρη[η]τε 'he washed our feet'. For λακάνη, Greek *λακάνη* 'basin', see Förster, *WB* s.v. (cf. the Greek text of the New Testament, as well as the two passages from the *Apophth. Patr.* cited above, which use another word, *νιπτήρ*, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). It is this word that lies at the root of the *laqqan*, a shallow basin sunk into the floor of Coptic churches and used for the foot washing ceremony on Maundy Thursday since the early medieval period, G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Leuven, 1954<sup>2</sup>) 102; O.H.E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (Cairo, 1967) 20–21; P. Grossmann, 'Laqqān', in *Copt. Enc.* v (1991) 1426–1427; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (Leipzig, 2002) 107–108. In general, see B. Kötting, 'Fußwaschung', in *RAC* VIII (1972) 743–777, esp. 769–772.

28. ἀγκω ῥάρων νοῦτραπεζα ἀνοῦωμ ἀγῶ ἀντῖ μῖωπῖ ῥμοτ 'He laid a table for us and we ate. And we said grace': cf. the similar phrase ἀγκω ῥάρων νῑτετραπ[εζα] ... ἀνοῦωμ ῖογ[οεικ] μν νενερη]γ ἀ[ν]τῖ μ[πωπ] ῥμοτ 'the table was laid for us ... we ate some bread with each other and said grace' in 2. In general, as remarked in the comm. on 26–28, the scene of the friendly welcome of Paphnutius and Pseleusius by Isaac in 27–28 is reminiscent of the hospitality shown to Paphnutius by Pseleusius and Zaboulon in 1–2. For ἀντῖ μῖωπῖ ῥμοτ, see comm. on 2, ἀ[ν]τῖ μ[πωπ] ῥμοτ.

ἀκααῖ 'you are advanced': from αἰαῖ, as ἐαφαῖαῖ in 27. Cf. 54, νεαφααῖ and 137, αφααῖ. See Introduction, p. 34.

οὔγκια 'age': that is, Greek *ἡλικία*. Cf. Förster, *WB* s.v., who lists several other variant spellings.

ἐπειδὴ ἀκχνογι ἐταβινρῶβ, †ναταμοκ ἐνενταῖναγ ἐροογ μῖ νενταῖοτμογ ἡτῖ παειωτ ἐτογᾶαβ ἀπα ῥάρων· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοκ νταῖμαθῆτεγε ῥαπατῖ ἀγῶ αἰσῖωπῖ ἐτρῖχῶ ἐρ'ο'ῖ νενταῖναγ ἐροογ μῖ νενταῖωπῖ ἐατεφῆ. πεχαγ γὰρ ἡῖ παειωτ ἐτογᾶαβ ἀπα ῥάρων [x]ε †ναχῶ ἐροκ, παωρη, νενταῖ[να]γ ἐροογ μῖ νενταῖοτμογ ν[τοο]τῖ ἡπμακαριος ἀπα μα{p}κεδονι'ο'ς [πεπ]σκοπος. 'Since you have asked me about my practice, I shall tell you about the things that I have seen and heard from my holy father Aaron. For I was his disciple and begged him to tell me about the things that he had seen and had happened before his time. So indeed my holy father Apa Aaron said, "I shall tell you, my son, about the things that I have seen and heard from the blessed Bishop Apa Macedonius": rather than telling about his own ascetic practice, as Paphnutius had requested, Isaac—no doubt out of

modesty—tells a story that Bishop Macedonius of Philae had told his master Apa Aaron, which he in turn told his disciple Isaac. These sentences have an important narratological function and have therefore been reproduced here in full. They work out the concluding statement of Pseleusius' two stories with its emphasis on knowledge transfer from master to pupil, which explains the complex narrative situation on different levels, and can be seen as a blueprint for the entire work (see comm. on 26, εἰς ... ἐβολ).

The phrase ἐνενταῖνας ἐροῶ μὴ νενταῖσότης 'the things that I have seen and heard' by Isaac repeats the similar statement made by Pseleusius in 26, and basically frames his two stories in sections 2 and 3. Unlike Pseleusius' first story (6–9), where he tells about how he came to meet his master John, Isaac only speaks about his dealings with Aaron in the second story (section 3). His first story (29–85) resembles Pseleusius' second story (10–25) in that in both cases the narrators relate the story of someone else, in the first case Anianus and Paul and in the second case, through the intermission of Aaron, Macedonius (and his successors). Though these four stories are of uneven length, they are thus structured in a chiastic manner.

Interestingly, whereas the story of Anianus and Paul (12–24) is carefully embedded in Pseleusius' second story (10–25), here we move in a couple of sentences from primary to tertiary narrative level. This is done by repetition of the phrase of 'the things seen and heard': first, Isaac begs Aaron to tell him about νενταῖνας ἐροῶ μὴ νενταῖσότης ἡγετερον 'the things that he had seen and had happened before his time', which is more specific than the first phrase and frames Isaac's first story about the early bishops of Philae (29–85), after which Aaron honours his request by stating that he will tell νενταῖ[νας] ἐροῶ μὴ νενταῖσότης 'the things that I have seen and heard' from Macedonius. The direct speech introduces an alleged conversation between Macedonius and Aaron, in which the bishop tells his story, so that we move to the tertiary level.

The representation of Aaron as transmitting the story that he personally heard from Philae's first bishop is clearly a literary device, as we learn from 79 (comm. on παῖ ... τεφνῆτεπισκοπ'ός) that Aaron was a monk under the fourth bishop of Philae, Psoulousia, and could therefore not have heard the story from Macedonius. In addition, the bishop's first person, eyewitness account soon gives way to third-person narrative (31, comm. on ντερῖβωκ ... καὶνε), so that the story shifts back to secondary level, that is, Isaac's story of what he heard from Aaron, which it remains—with the exception of 40 (see comm. on ἀμοοῦε ... πεχα), where the story briefly reverts to Macedonius' eyewitness account, and 64–67 (see comm. ad loc.), where Athanasius tells a parable to Mark in which another parable is imbedded—until the end of sec-

tion 2 (Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 243). Not only does this representation function to enhance Aaron's authority as a holy man, a theme that is worked out extensively in section 3, it also is a lively way to incorporate materials on the early bishops of Philae in the narrative.

καὶ γὰρ ἀνοκ ἡταίμασθεύε ζαράτῳ 'For I was his disciple': takes up the earlier statement by Pseleusius about Isaac, εἰσμεσθεύε ζωωζ ζαράτῳ ἡπζλλο εἰτογᾶαβ ἀπα ζαρων 'He was himself a disciple of the holy old man Apa Aaron' in 26. Note the emphasis provided in both phrases, in particular by ζωωζ in the first and καὶ γὰρ and ἀνοκ in the second instance.

μα{p}κεΔονι'ο'ς: a scribal error, no doubt due to preceding μακαριος. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 235 (n. 51) and cf. Timm 1.393: 'Ma(r)kedonios'. Macedonius, the first bishop of Philae, is listed as one of the participants at the Council of Serdica in 343 (Ath. *apol. sec.* 49.3 [Opitz 2, p. 130 (no. 218)]), just as his colleague from Syene, Neilammon, and the see of Philae may have been created at around the same time as the one at Syene, that is, ca. 330 (see comm. on 12, κογαν above and Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 55 for the historical Macedonius).

The name Macedonius is rare in Egypt: it occurs on two Greek papyri (*P.Oxy.* VII 1028.2, AD 86; *PSI* XIV 1421.11, third century) as Μακεδόνιος, and with variant spellings on a Greek papyrus (*P.Berl.Zill.* 12 r<sup>o</sup> 17, third/fourth century: Μακεδόνι) and a Coptic ostrakon (ed. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara III: 1907–1908* [Cairo, 1909] 73 [no. 160], sixth-eighth century: μακίτονς). See Trismegistos People (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 25252); *NB Kopt.* s.v. It is also found in an inscription on a column in the western part of the East Church of Philae (ed. J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Late Antique Inscriptions from the First Cataract Area Discovered and Rediscovered', *JJP* 33 [2003] 55–66 at 58 [no. 3] = *SEG* LIII 1997C, sixth century or later: Μακεδώνιος). The occurrence of the name among visitors to the main church of Philae is perhaps no coincidence, and the person in question may well have been named after the legendary first bishop of the island (Dijkstra, 'Late Antique Inscriptions', 58–59; *Philae and the End*, 337). The name is spelled both μακεΔονιος (28, 30, 31 [twice]) and μακεΔωνιος (38, 53 [twice], 54, 56, 58, 60, 72, 74, 78, 137) in our text.

29–54. *The story of Macedonius is altogether longer than both of Pseleusius' stories in section 1 (4–25) combined and the longest one in section 2. This is precisely because most of it concerns the role of the first bishop of Philae in the conversion of the island to Christianity, which is important for the legitimization of the see (and hence his successors). Macedonius' story starts out as an eyewitness account (29–31, again in 40), in which he informs Bishop Athanasius in Alexandria about the dominance of idol worshippers at Philae and is promptly ordained its first bishop*

(29–30). He returns to Philae and, when the temple priest is absent and his two sons are officiating, he kills the holy falcon worshipped on the island. For fear of repercussions, the sons flee into the desert. When the priest comes back and hears from an old woman what has happened, he threatens to kill both his sons and Macedonius. Upon the advice of a Christian bystander, Macedonius also flees but not without cursing the old woman (31–36). In his place of hiding, the Valley, he sees a vision featuring two boys. When a voice urges him to find the boys, he walks into the desert until he encounters the sons of the priest, who have witnessed a similar vision. Macedonius takes them into his dwelling and they live together. He baptizes them, changes their names into Mark and Isaiah and ordains them priest and deacon. In a variation of the two stories in section 1, here it is the master who seeks out his disciples (37–43). Not long thereafter a dispute breaks out between two Nubians over a camel that has broken its leg. Macedonius lets Isaiah perform a healing and news of the miracle reaches Philae (44–47). The temple priest comes out to the Valley and when Macedonius confronts him, he immediately changes sides. On the instructions of Macedonius, he goes back to Philae and turns his house into a church (48–50). When the bishop arrives on the island, he is received with joy and installed in the church. He then baptizes the entire population, first of all the temple priest, who is renamed Jacob. When Macedonius remembers the old woman, he heals her and makes her the last person of the island to be converted. Subsequently, the whole crowd receives their first Communion (51–53). On his deathbed, Macedonius announces that Mark will be his successor and he is buried outside his dwelling in the Valley (54).

The author has embellished his conversion story with the scene of the creation of the see at the instigation of Athanasius in Alexandria (30), which evokes comparison with the similar creation of the see of Aksum, and the topos of an idol destruction that is adapted to the local context as it concerns the holy falcon of Philae (31). Moreover, several people embody the shift from a pagan past to a Christian present: the sons of the temple priest, who change their names to Mark and Isaiah, convert and become ecclesiastical dignitaries (and later the second and third bishops of Philae; 31–47), the temple priest himself, who is at first furious (34–35) but facing the holy man drops all opposition, changes his name to Jacob and converts (48–51), and the old woman, who betrays Macedonius (35) and is only forgiven after he has baptized everyone else (53). These stories of individuals are framed by the transformation of the population as a whole from almost entirely pagan (29) to Christian (51–53). See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 264–269.

29. ἀφ' οὗτος γὰρ ἤ[δ]α 'for he said to me': opens the tertiary level of narration, in which Macedonius ('he') tells his story to Aaron ('me').

ἐτ[ί]ϊ εἰς τὸν παρῶν ἐλθὼν ἀρχὴν ἡμε[τέ]ραν λογιόμην, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐπιταγῇ ἐ[μ]ὴν νεπολιε. 'While I was still a magistrate and had started to obtain wealth, I went

south, because I was pagarch over these cities': for corrections to Budge's text and translation of this sentence, see Dijkstra, "Foule immense de moines", 193–194, with *Philae and the End*, 255. ⲉⲧⲓ 'still' not only fits the lacuna at the beginning of the line (on the edge the lower part of a vertical is visible, which could well be of an ⲓ) but also makes perfect sense in the context of the story, where Macedonius describes the situation before he became a bishop (for ⲉⲧⲓ + circumstantial, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 311; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 493 [no. 21]). At that time, he was an ⲁⲣϭⲱⲛ 'magistrate', a generic term for any kind of official (see LSJ s.v. ἄρχων 3; Preisigke, *WB* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.v.; as such it occurs several times more in our work: 29, 59, 71 [three times], 119, 122, 127), and already started becoming rich (ⲭⲓ ⲁⲣϭⲏ is a compound verb [light verb construction] for Greek ἄρχομαι 'to begin', here translated with ⲛⲧⲏⲓⲛⲧⲏⲓⲗⲟϥϭⲓⲟⲥ as 'started to obtain wealth'), as befitted men in his position. For the word ⲛⲧⲟϥϭⲓⲟⲥ 'rich' used in combination with ⲁⲣϭⲱⲛ 'magistrate' and another generic word frequently encountered in these kinds of texts for someone from the upper class, ⲛⲟⲩⲥ 'notable', see the *Martyrdom of Mercurius the General*, fol. 24a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 281). The element of Macedonius' wealth is not without significance: upon his return to Philae he distributes his possessions among the poor (31). For the correlation between wealth/social status and the episcopal office in Late Antiquity, see e.g. R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993) 285, 292; A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au 1<sup>re</sup> siècle* (328–373) (Rome, 1996) 653–659; Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 199–203; E. Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions* (Warsaw, 2015) 113–114.

The subordinate clause *ἐπαγαρχῇ* (that is, *ἐπαγαρχεῖ*, from Greek *παγαρχέω* ‘to be pagarch’, see Preisigke, *WB* s.v.) *ἐ[χ]ῖ* *νειπολις* ‘since I was pagarch over these cities’ specifies the generic term *αρχων* and gives a clear explanation why Macedonius was in the south. The title *πάγαρχος*, however, was not used in this sense before the reign of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518). See J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, ‘The Origin of the Office of the Pagarch’, *ByzZ* 66 (1973) 38–46, and ‘The Pagarch: City and Imperial Administration in Byzantine Egypt’, *JJP* 18 (1974) 163–168 (repr. in idem, *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire* [Aldershot, 1990] Chs xvii and xviii); R. Mazza ‘Ricerche sul pagarca nell’Egitto tardoantico e bizantino’, *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 169–242. Since the phrase has a meaningful function within the narrative, it is unlikely to have been added later. Therefore, the representation of Macedonius as a pagarch is anachronistic and provides important evidence for the time of writing of the work (discussed in the Introduction, pp. 58–59), which should be placed after 491. Moreover, it is likely to have been before 614, as the verb *παγαρχέω* does not occur beyond that date, see

Stern, 'Local Magnates, but Mobile', forthcoming, with n. 59 listing the evidence. The territory of the pagarchies usually followed that of the nomes, with several pagarchs serving in one pagarchy. Given the special administrative position of the Cataract region within the nome (see comm. on 12,  $\text{COYAN}$ ), it may well be that  $\text{NEIPOIC}$  'these cities' refers to Syene, Elephantine and Philae. On this sentence, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 231, 261–262.

$\text{PEI\AA K}$ : for Philae in Late Antiquity, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End* and 'Philae'. The name is spelled variously in our text: besides  $\text{PEI\AA K}$  (29, 105, 140), we encounter  $\text{PI\AA K}$  (71, 86, 99, 100, 117, 137, 140) and  $\text{PE\AA K}$  (47), for a total of 11 attestations.

Philae is a small island ( $460 \times 150$  m) situated at the southern end of the Cataract ca. 6 km south of Aswan (Fig. 2), on the border between Ancient Egypt and Nubia. This location at a crossroads resulted, over the centuries, in the involvement of people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The island is covered with several temples, chief among them the famous temple of Isis (Fig. 3, no. M), which possessed one of the most important cults of this goddess in the Graeco-Roman period and is among the best preserved temples in Egypt.

In Late Antiquity, Demotic and Greek inscriptions left by the priests of Philae testify to the continuity of traditional cults and festivals; the last inscriptions in hieroglyphic (*I.Philae.Dem.* 436 = *FHN* III 306; AD 394) and Demotic (*I.Philae.Dem.* 365; AD 452) of all Egypt are found on the island. At the same time, however, these inscriptions show the clear signs of contraction and isolation of the cults and they must have come to an end shortly after the last inscription was incised, significantly in Greek, in 456/457 (*I.Philae* II 199). According to Procopius (*Pers.* 1.19.34–37 = *FHN* III 328), two southern peoples (the Blemmyes and Noubades) kept the cults alive until 535–537, when the Emperor Justinian gave orders to his general Narses to destroy the temples. Whereas Procopius is no doubt right that the southern peoples were the driving force behind the temples staying open until an exceptionally late date (cf. also Prisc. fr. 27 Blockley = *FHN* III 318, a treaty dated to 452/453, in which the peoples are allowed access to Philae), his picture of still thriving cults until 535–537, about eighty years after the last priests disappear from the epigraphical record, is problematic and the 'destruction' therefore cannot have amounted to more than a symbolic closure of an abandoned building.

Another problematic aspect of Procopius' account is that he does not mention any Christian presence on the island. By comparing the names of the first bishops of Philae in the *Life of Aaron* with the works of Athanasius, Martin, *Athanase*, 84–85, 87–88, has demonstrated the historicity of at least the first three bishops. As we have seen (comm. on 28,  $\text{MA}\{\text{P}\}\text{KE\AA ONI}\text{'O' C}$ ), Macedonius

is attested in 343 and the see was created ca. 330. The island also had two freestanding churches on its northern part, the East and West Church (Fig. 3, nos Q and P), of which the former was the cathedral church and probably goes back to a fourth-century predecessor. This means that adherents to the Ancient Egyptian religion and Christianity lived peacefully side by side on the island for well over a century.

While bishoprics were usually created in nome capitals, the Cataract region, which did not have a nome capital, was served with no fewer than two episcopal sees, one at Aswan and one at Philae. This exceptional situation fits the anomalous administrative position of the region, in which Aswan, the largest town, received the privilege of having a separate bishop (see comm. on 12, *COYAN*). By contrast, even if it is called, just as Aswan, a *πολις* 'city' throughout the *Life of Aaron*, Philae was a fairly small settlement (it cannot have had more than ca. 765 inhabitants, Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 35 [n. 162]) and was never given the administrative status of city (Dijkstra and Worp, 'Administrative Position', 186). No doubt the creation of a second see at Philae was related to its strategic position at the southern end of the Cataract, which became especially prominent after 298, when Diocletian withdrew the frontier to the Cataract region (Procop. *Pers.* 1.19.27–37 = *FHN* III 328), and a legion, the *Legio I Maximiana*, was garrisoned here (*Not. dign.* or. 31.37 [p. 64 Seeck]), which formed the largest military unit in the region.

The army camp was not garrisoned on the island but on the east bank of the Nile, where the ruins of a camp dating to the Roman period have been recorded (G. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907–1908*, vol. 1 [Cairo, 1910] 72–73; P. Grossmann, *Elephantine II. Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof* [Mainz, 1980] 27 [n. 156]; M.P. Speidel, 'Nubia's Roman Garrison', in *ANRW* II 10.1 [1988] 767–798 at 773; E. Fantusati, 'Gli accampamenti romani di Shellal', in N. Bonacasa et al. [eds], *L'Egitto in Italia dall'antichità al medioevo* [Rome, 1998] 247–253). Recent excavations, however, have brought to light the remains of another camp at Hisn el-Bab, 1–2 km further south, of which the earlier phase dates back to the sixth/seventh century (A.L. Gascoigne, P.J. Rose, 'Fortification, Settlement and Ethnicity in Southern Egypt', in P. Matthiae et al. [eds], *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 3 [Rome, 2010] 45–54, and 'The Forts of Hisn al-Bab and the First Cataract Frontier from the 5th to 12th centuries AD', *Sudan & Nubia* 16 [2012] 88–95; P.J. Rose, A.L. Gascoigne, 'Hisn al-Bab: More Symbol than Substance', in F. Jesse, C. Vogel [eds], *The Power of Walls: Fortifications in Ancient Northeastern Africa* [Cologne, 2013] 251–268). At present, it is not clear whether the camp was located at the former site, as was previously thought, or the latter one.

By the sixth century, Philae had become Christian. At the same time, however, the temples were still around and what happened in them was fresh in the memory, so that the Christian community had to come to terms with its 'pagan' past. It was especially Bishop Theodore, who in his long episcopate (ca. 525–after 577) contributed considerably to the construction of a Christian identity at Philae (see also J. van der Vliet, 'Contested Frontiers: Southern Egypt and Northern Nubia, AD 300–1500: The Evidence of the Inscriptions', in Gabra and Takla, *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, 63–77 at 68–70 [repr. in idem, *Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia*, 253–266 at 257–259]). Outside of his diocese, Theodore participated in the first mission to Nubia (536–548; cf. the account by John of Ephesus, *Church History* 3.4.6–7 [ed. E.W. Brooks, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia* [Leuven, 1935] 183–186). At home, several inscriptions witness Theodore's involvement in building activities, first and foremost the construction of a *topos* dedicated to St Stephen the Protomartyr in the *pronaos* of the temple of Isis (*I.Philae* II 200–204 = *FHN* III 324). The building of the church has often been closely connected to the closure of the temple of Isis in 535–537 as reported by Procopius (P. Nautin, 'La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne', *CArch* 17 [1967] 1–43, followed in the footsteps by e.g. J. Hahn, 'Die Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae. Geschichte und Legende am ersten Nilkatarakt', in Hahn, Emmel and Gotter, *From Temple to Church*, 203–242), but it is more likely that the bishop—at an unknown point in his long episcopate—made the decision to find a new purpose for the abandoned building, a symbolic move that at the same time underlined that Philae had definitively become Christian.

Terracotta moulds from Elephantine intended for the pilgrimage industry mention the names of Theodore and St Stephen, which indicates that Philae had become a Christian pilgrimage centre at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century (P. Ballet, F. Mahmoud, 'Moules en terre cuite d'Éléphantine', *BIFAO* 87 [1987] 53–72). Inscriptions from the church of St Stephen itself give the names of some of these pilgrims, among whom some specify that they are Nubians (*I.Philae* II 205, 208, 210, 213). Thus Christian pilgrims from both north and south now visited the island that had once been one of the most important and well-known pilgrimage sites of Egypt.

Apart from the *Life of Aaron*, there is little evidence for monasticism at Philae. We learn from the fifth-century letter from Mouses, probably a monk from Philae, to the Noubadian chieftain Tantani about trade activities across the frontier (*FHN* III 322 = *SB Kopt.* IV 1774). Moreover, an inscription from the Isis temple mentions a certain Posios, who was διακὼν καὶ προεστῶς 'deacon and (monastic) superior' (*I.Philae* II 203.6–7 = *FHN* III 324), which suggests that Theodore collaborated with a local monastery in the building of the church of



St Stephen. Finally, *P.Haun.* 11 26 (sixth/seventh century) refers to a meeting between the letter writer and an ἔγκλειστος ‘ascetic’ after the latter has arrived at τὸ κάστρον τῶν Μαύρων ‘ν’ τὸ πλησίον Φιλῶν ‘the camp of the Moors (that is, Nubians) near Philae’, plausibly to be identified with the garrison at Hisn el-Bab, although it is not clear where this ascetic was from or what the purpose of the meeting was (A. Łajtar, ‘Τὸ κάστρον τῶν Μαύρων τὸ πλησίον Φιλῶν—Der dritte Adam über *P.Haun.* 11 26’, *JJP* 27 [1997] 43–54).

νεγῳῃῳε εἰδολον ‘they worshipped idols’: the reproach of statue worship is a common theme in Christian literature. The Greek terminology used to describe such worship—εἰδωλον, from which our word ‘idol’ is derived, εἰδωλολατρ(ε)ία ‘idolatry’ and other derivatives—has Jewish roots and is first encountered in the context of the discourse against Near Eastern statues in the Septuagint. From the second century onwards, the discourse against statue worship becomes omnipresent in Christian literature, including Egyptian Christian literature. See, in general, e.g. H. Funke, ‘Götterbild’ and J.-C. Fre-douille, ‘Götzendienst’, in *RAC* XI (1981) 659–828, 828–895, and on the discourse in early Christian literature, J.N. Bremmer, ‘God against Gods: Early Christians and the Worship of Statues’, in D. Boschung, A. Schäfer (eds), *Römische Götterbilder der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit* (Paderborn, 2015) 139–158. In Coptic, the Greek loanword εἰδωλον is employed for ‘idol’ and, in combination with ῳῃῳε, for ‘idol worship’, hence ῳῃῳε εἰδολον ‘to worship idols’, the equivalent of Greek εἰδωλολατρεύω, here and ῑῳῃῳε εἰδολο(ν)/ῑῳῃῳε εἰδολον ‘idol worshipper’, Greek εἰδωλολάτρης, in the following sentences. See Crum, *Dict.* 567b, 568a.

νεεεγῳῃῳε ‘to administer Communion’: the meaning of εγῳῃῳε is transitive here, ‘to administer Communion’, which contrasts with the intransitive meaning ‘to receive Communion’, translated here as ‘to celebrate the Eucharist’, that we have seen so far (11, 24, 29 [twice]; also in this sense in 75, 76 [in a lacuna]). The verb is used several times in the following stories for the bishops of Philae administering Communion to their flock (42, 52 [twice], 53 [twice], 72, 73 [twice], 76, 82, 84). For the difference between the transitive and intransitive meanings of συνάγω/εγῳῃῳε, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. συνάγω 2a; H.-F. Weiss, ‘Ein Lexikon der griechischen Wörter im Koptischen’, *ZÄS* 96 (1969) 79–80 at 80 s.v. συνάγω 3–4; Förster, *WB* s.v. συνάγω 3a.

30. The story of the creation of the see of Philae has some remarkable parallels with the story of the first bishop of Aksum, Frumentius, as told by Ruf. *Hist.* 10.9–10 (*GCS NF* 6.2, pp. 971–973), on which are based the accounts by Socr. *h.e.* 1.19 (*GCS NF* 1, pp. 60–62); Soz. *h.e.* 2.24 (*GCS NF* 4, pp. 82–84); Thdt. *h.e.* 1.23 (*GCS NF* 5, pp. 73–74); Gel. *Cyz. h.e.* 3.9 (*GCS NF* 9, pp. 121–123). In both cases the main protagonist (Frumentius/Macedonius) spends some time in a marginal

area (Aksum/southern Egyptian frontier), where already some Christians are present. He then travels to Alexandria to report on the situation to Athanasius and urges him to send a bishop, upon which the patriarch declares him the right person for the job and appoints him bishop. He returns and a flurry of miracles (Frumentius) or just one miracle (Macedonius) causes a mass conversion to Christianity. As also noted by Martin, *Athanasie*, 88 (n. 240), the stories are particularly close in the scene of the visit to Alexandria and Athanasius' appointment of the protagonist as the first bishop, including the similar question that Athanasius poses to him (see comm. on εβολ ... εροκ; below). It is therefore likely that the story of Frumentius formed the inspiration for that of the creation of the see of Philae. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 256–257.

For Frumentius, a contemporary of Macedonius (he is mentioned as bishop of Aksum in the letter of Constantius II to Ezana and his brother Sazana of 357/358, *Ath. apol. Const.* 31 [Brennecke, Heil and Von Stockhausen, pp. 304–305]), see e.g. F. Thélamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'apport de l'Histoire ecclésiastique' de Rufin d'Aquilée* (Paris, 1981) 31–83; B.W.W. and F.A. Domkowski, 'Frumentius/Abbā Salāmā: Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien', *OC* 68 (1984) 114–169; S.C.H. Munro-Hay, 'The Dating of Ezana and Frumentius', *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 32 (1988) 111–127 (repr. in A. Bausi [ed.], *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian* [Farnham, 2012] 57–73); H. Brakmann, *Τὸ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum* (Bonn, 1994) 51–67; Martin, *Athanasie*, 502–504; H. Brakmann, 'Axomis (Aksum)', in *RAC Suppl.* I (2001) 718–810 at 745–747; C. Haas, 'Mountain Constantines: The Christianization of Aksum and Iberia', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008) 101–126 at 107–108, 112.

πῆστ[ρατ]ῆλατης 'the military commander': like ἀρχων in 29 (see comm. on ετ]ι ... νεπολις), the term στρατηλάτης is generic and can denote any military commander, see LSJ s.v.; Preisigke, *WB* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.v. Moreover, in the sixth century the title was often conferred *honoris causa* to high officials, even if they were not strictly military commanders, as is e.g. the case with the *dux et augustalis* of the Thebaid (e.g., to concentrate on attestations in the Dioscorus archive, *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 18.8, 19.8; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 prol. 1, iii 24, 67003.2, 67004.1, 21, 67005.2, 28, 67007.1, 67008.2, 67032.57, III 67289 v<sup>o</sup> 2, 67316 r<sup>o</sup> 5; *P.Lond.* v 1675.8; *SB* VI 9102 v<sup>o</sup>). Nevertheless, if we situate our text in the sixth century (Introduction, pp. 58–59), and after Justinian's thirteenth edict of 539, it could well be that the author had the *dux et augustalis* at Alexandria in mind, who was a 'military commander' and at the same time a governor, and that he imagined Macedonius travelling to Alexandria to pay his respects to this official. That such a trip was not unusual appears from the official visit of the Arsinoite pagarch Strategius Paneuphemos (who is also known from the

papyri, see B. Palme, 'Die *domus gloriosa* des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos', *Chiron* 27 [1997] 95–125) to the *dux et augustalis* Nicetas at Alexandria in the early seventh century as mentioned by Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 10.26 (ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche* [1966–199], vol. 4 [Paris, 1910] 394). Cf. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 262.

ἀπα ἀθα[νάσιος] 'Apa Athanasius': the bishop plays an important role in section 2 of the *Life of Aaron*. He arranges the creation of the see of Philae and ordains Macedonius (30), as well as his two successors, Mark and Isaiah (69, 76). Especially his involvement in the ordination of Mark is set out in great detail: the archbishop gives the delegation from Philae precedence over a group of magistrates (59) and instructs them (60), after which he gives elaborate advice to Mark in particular (61–68). But Athanasius does not only act as the legitimizer and authenticator of the see of Philae and its first three bishops, he is also a holy man who already knows beforehand that Mark has arrived in Alexandria and is miraculously aware of the vision that he has seen in the desert (58, 66). Thus, in the next sentence he is called πρῶτος ἐτοῦ ἀβ[ελ] ἀγῶ πατριάρχης ἡμε 'the wise and holy man and true patriarch'. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 257–258. For Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria between 328 and 373, see e.g. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1993); D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (Oxford, 1995); Martin, *Athanasius*; E.J. Watts, *Riot in Alexandria. Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities* (Berkeley, 2010) 163–189.

πατριεπισκοπος νρακότη[ε] 'the archbishop of Alexandria': the title ἀρχιεπίσκοπος is sporadically attested for the bishop of Alexandria in the fourth and early fifth century but only really begins to lift off from the Council of Ephesus (431) onwards, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος 2a; Martin, *Athanasius*, 266–267; E. Wipszycka, 'Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche in Egitto dalla fine del III all'inizio dell'VIII secolo', in Camplani, *Egitto cristiano*, 219–271 at 251–252. The title occurs 25 times in our text, 16 times as used for Athanasius (30 [2×], 56, 57, 58 [2×], 61, 63, 64, 69 [2×], 73, 74, 76 [2×], 77), 3 times for an unknown bishop (probably Timothy 1; 80 [2×], 81) and 6 times for Theophilus (83 [2×], 84 [4×], one of which is spelled as παρχιεπισκοπος).

πατριάρχης 'the patriarch': the title πατριάρχης is of relatively late date. It does not appear in inscriptions until the sixth century, when it becomes more widely used, including for the bishop of Alexandria, see H. Grégoire, 'Notes épigraphiques', *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 49–88 at 74–75; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. πατριάρχης C2; E. Feissel, 'L'évêque, titres et fonctions d'après les inscriptions grecques jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in N. Duval, F. Baritel, P. Pergola (eds), *Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1989) 801–828 at 806–

808; Wipszycka, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche', 251 and 'Les élections épiscopales en Égypte aux VI<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles', in J. Leemans et al. (eds), *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity* (Berlin, 2011) 259–291 at 261 (n. 2), who refers to SB III 6087 (late seventh century) as the earliest occurrence. However, the title is already found in the *Dialogus Cyrilli cum Anthimo et Stephano diaconis* (CPG 5277), preserved in a papyrus codex dated to the sixth/seventh century, in which Cyril is called ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ 'the patriarch of Egypt' (ed. Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 12; as a contemporary parallel, it can be added that the codex contains numerous references to ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ [ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ], see previous entry). Usage of the title (apart from here also in 57) therefore aligns perfectly with the date of composition that we have assumed for our text (see Introduction, pp. 58–59). Cf. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 231.

ΡΩΘΕΜΩΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ 'worshippers of God': note the contrast with ΡΩΘΕΜΩΕ ΕΙΔΟΛΟ(Ν)/ΡΩΘΩΙΩΕ ΕΙΔΟΛΟΝ 'idol worshippers' in 29.

ΝΕΚΡΙΡΙΚΟC: the scribe duplicated the syllable ΡΙ (by forward assimilation; cf. Gignac, *Gram.* 1.103: 'possible assimilation'), instead of writing the correct ΛΗΡΙ, as he had done in 29.

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΚΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΩΩΒ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC' ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠCΑΒΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΚ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΗΨΗΤ ΕΓΤΗΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΚ; 'Since you have pursued the good thing, who is wiser than you or who equals you in understanding?': cf. Ruf. *Hist.* 10.10 (GCS 9.2, p. 973), *Et quem alium invenimus virum talem, in quo sit spiritus Dei in ipso secut in te, qui haec ita possit implere?* 'What other man can we find like you, in whom is God's spirit as in you, and who could achieve such things as these?' (trans. P.R. Amidon, *Rufinus of Aquileia. History of the Church* [Washington, 2016] 396).

31. The episode of Macedonius and the sacred falcon of Philae is clearly inspired by the story of Jehu deceivingly wiping out the worship of Baal in 2 Kgs. 10:18–28 (there is no connection with the story of Daniel and the Bel priests, as suggested by Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 110 [n. 50]). He announces to the prophets, priests and worshippers of the god that 'I have a great sacrifice for Baal' to which are added the words 'But Iou (i.e. Jehu) acted with trickery in order to destroy the slaves of Baal' (2 Kgs. 10:19; trans. NETS). Having assembled all worshippers in Baal's temple, he makes a burnt offering but then suddenly asks his men to come in and kill everyone. In the aftermath, he also burns the stela of the god and demolishes his temple. In our story, it is only the sacred falcon that is killed and he is the one thrown into the fire—with which the sacrifice thus does not consist of the worshippers, but rather of the old god who is offered to the new God. The idol worshippers in fact get a chance at redemption and convert later on, after one of the two sons of the temple priest, Isaiah, who will later become the third bishop of Philae, heals the foot of a camel (44–47).

Since the falcon is an object of worship, he is regarded as an ‘idol’ (εἰδολον), and hence the scene uses the anti-idol discourse (see comm. on 29, ΝΕΥΘΥΜΩΕ ΕΙΔΟΛΟΝ). More specifically, the episode should be seen in the context of contemporary Coptic hagiographical works containing stories of idol and temple destruction. In each of these stories, a holy man goes against an object of pagan worship (a statue or temple or a demon in a statue/temple) and destroys that object, resulting in the removal or conversion of the pagans. This basic plot is already present in the story of Apollo of Hermopolis destroying a statue carried in procession through the countryside in *h. mon.* 8.24–29 (pp. 56–58 Festugière), which may have served as the model for the later, more violent Coptic saints’ lives. Further characteristics of these stories are references to the Old Testament, especially those passages which are most associated with the discourse against idolatry (in this case, the story of Jehu and the Baal worshippers), the miraculous (in our story the usual order of miracle—destruction is turned round as a miracle is only performed after the idol destruction, though the result—mass conversion—is still the same) and the demonic (emphasized here by the use of the Greek loanword ΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ, see comm. on this word below). Thus the story can be firmly placed among contemporary literature containing the discourse of idol destruction. At the same time, however, it deviates from the basic storyline as it is adapted to the context of the work as a whole and placed in a definitive local landscape. Moreover, it is the only idol destruction story that specifically targets animal worship (the falcon is definitely no statue, as assumed by Frankfurter, *Religion*, 68 and 110 [n. 48]), an aspect of the idol discourse that can also be found in Shenoute’s treatise *Well Did You Come* (ed. G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur* [Rome, 1810] 599), in which the abbot attacks the worship of a living bird, which he calls an αἰetos ‘eagle’ but given their common confusion is more probably a falcon (see also J. van der Vliet, ‘Spätantikes Heidentum in Ägypten im Spiegel der koptischen Literatur’, in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten* [Riggsberg, 1993] 99–130 at 111–112; for Patristic views on animal worship in general, see K. Zimmermann, *Der ägyptische Tierkult nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftsteller und die ägyptischen Denkmäler* [Diss. Bonn, 1912]; K.A.D. Smeilik, E.A. Hemelrijk, “Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worshipped?”, in *ANRW II* 17.4 (1984) 1852–2000 at 1981–1995).

On this passage, see Dijkstra, “I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today” (used freely here and in what follows), with a detailed discussion of and comparison with other such stories in Egyptian hagiography, which elaborates on and updates previous discussions of these sources in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 89–92, and ‘Fate of the Temples’, 396–400. Cf. T.M. Kristensen,

*Making and Breaking the Gods. Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity* (Aarhus, 2013) 137–146.

ΑΙΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ [ΕΥ]ΒΗΚ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΡΠΗΥΕ ΕΥΩΜΩ[Ε Ν]ΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΒ[ΗΒ] ΝΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ ‘I saw them going into the temple to worship a bird which they called the falcon, inside a demonic cage’: the plurals ΝΕΡΠΗΥΕ and ΖΕΝΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ in this sentence contrast with the singular used for both words elsewhere in the text. This may be no coincidence and have a rhetorical function to set the scene at the beginning of the falcon story. However, in the translation the singular has been maintained.

ΕΥΩΜΩ[Ε Ν]ΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΒ[ΗΒ] ‘to worship a bird which they called the falcon’: the worship of animals was a widespread phenomenon in Graeco-Roman Egypt and many animals were kept in or near temples as part of those cults. See e.g. L. Kákosy, ‘Götter, Tier-’, in *LÄ* II (1977) 660–664; D. Kessler, ‘Tierkult’, in *LÄ* VI (1986) 571–587, and *Die heiligen Tiere und der König I. Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theogonie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe* (Wiesbaden, 1989); P. Dils, ‘Les cultes des animaux’, in H. Willems and W. Clarysse (eds), *Les Empereurs du Nil* (Leuven, 2000) 119–122; M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich* (London, 2005); F. Hoffmann, D. Kessler, ‘Tierkult’, in M. Stadler, D. von Recklinghausen (eds), *KultOrte. Mythen, Wissenschaft und Alltag in den Tempeln Ägyptens* (Berlin, 2011) 142–159; M. Fitzenreiter, *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten* (Munich, 2013).

At Philae, a living falcon, the sacred animal of Horus, was venerated, which was one of the most conspicuous cults on the temple island, witness e.g. the account by Strabo 17.1.49 who saw the bird in the first century (note the similar words used to introduce the falcon as in our text: ὅπου καὶ ὄρνεον τιμᾶται, ὃ καλοῦσι μὲν ἱέρακα ‘here also a bird is worshipped, which they call a falcon’). The cult had an important role in connection with divine kingship and each year on 1 Tybi (27 December) the falcon was carried in procession to the balcony in between the two towers of the First Pylon (the large entrance gate in front of the temple of Isis, Fig. 3, no. M) to be ceremonially enthroned and shown to the pilgrims gathered on the forecourt below. While the cult apparently remained in the collective memory of the sixth-century Christian audience of the *Life of Aaron* (see also Frankfurter, ‘Hagiography and the Reconstruction of Local Religion in Late Antique Egypt’, 25–26), the dramatic scene that Macedonius ends the cult by killing the bird has no basis in reality (*pace* Frankfurter, *Religion*, 110, 282–283), as it is part of the idol destruction discourse (see introduction to 31 above) and we know that the cult continued into the fifth century (*I. Philae* II 190–192, on which see also Dijkstra, “Foule immense de moines”, 196–197). For the falcon cult at Philae, see H. Junker, ‘Der Bericht Strabos über den heili-

gen Falken von Philae im Lichte der ägyptischen Quellen', *WZKM* 26 (1912) 42–62 at 56–62, and *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Vienna, 1958) 73–75, 77–78; Spiegelberg, 'Ägyptologische Beiträge 111'; J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Horus on His Throne. The Holy Falcon of Philae in His Demonic Cage', *GM* 189 (2002) 7–10, and *Philae and the End*, 209–213.

ΝΞΟΥΝ ΖἸ ΖΕΝΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ 'inside a demonic cage': for the use of the plural here, see above. ΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ is a loanword from Greek (μάγγανον) and in its basic meaning denotes some sort of 'machine' (Lampe, *PGL* s.v.), in which sense it is used in Coptic martyr acts for instruments of torture (J. Vergote, 'Eculeus, Rad- und Pressefolter in den ägyptischen Märtyrerakten', *ZNTW* 37 [1938] 239–250). Cf. the translations 'mechanical contrivance' by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 961 and 'mechanical device' by Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 87. Here the ΜΑΓΚΑΝΟΝ is a concrete place in which the falcon is kept and out of which Macedonius takes it before killing it and hence seems to indicate some sort of cage (as first suggested by Spiegelberg, 'Ägyptologische Beiträge 111', 188). In Christian texts the word can also mean, in a metaphoric sense, 'device of Devil or of demons' and, given the discourse against idols in this passage, it is likely that the word here carries this connotation too (see also Lampe's entry for the related word μαγγανεία 2, 'of wiles of Devil or of demons, tempting men'). Cf. the translations 'Kunstwerk, Zauberwerk' by Vergote, 'Eculeus', 250 (n. 36), 'toverschrijn' by Borghouts, *Egyptische sagen en verhalen*, 185 and 'luoghi d'incantesimo' by Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 83. To account for both connotations the best translation of the word therefore seems to be 'demonic cage'. See Dijkstra, 'Horus on His Throne', 8–9, *Philae and the End*, 211 (n. 100), and "I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today", 65.

ΔΦΒΩΚ ΝΟΥΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙC '(he) went out on some business': for this meaning of ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙC, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἀπόκρισις 3; Förster, *WB* s.v. ἀπόκρισις 5.

ΝΤΕΡῪΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΑΦΟΥΕΞ ΣΑΖΝΕ 'After he had gone inside, he ordered': the narrative suddenly changes from an eyewitness account by Macedonius (tertiary level) to the story as told through the eyes of Isaac (secondary level). See comm. on 28, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ... [ΠΕΠ]ΣΚΟΠΟC.

ΝΕΥΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ 'they attended': προσκαρτερέω (for the spelling προσκαρτηρεῖ, see Förster, *WB* s.v.) is a technical term here for 'attending to a sacrificial rite'; similarly in *Gospel of Judas*, pp. 38, ll. 6–7, 11, and 40, ll. 5–6 (ed. R. Kasser, G. Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas* [Washington, 2007] 195, 199).

ΖἸ ΟΥΚΡΟϢ 'deceivingly': one wonders whether this is an allusion to the story of Jehu and the Baal worshippers (2 Kgs. 10:19, where the Septuagint has ἐν πτερνισμῷ 'with cunning'). Unfortunately, this passage is not extant in the Sahidic Old Testament, so that this cannot be ascertained.

ΝΕΥΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ: see the entry above.

ΜΑ[ΚΕΛ]ΟΝΙΟΣ: the letter after the lacuna could in principle also be an ω. However, the letter looks more like a closed o with a connector at the bottom to the Δ, as it is written earlier in 31. Moreover, the name is spelled with o in 28, 30 and the previous occurrence in 31, whereas it is spelled consistently with ω from 38 onwards, so we would expect the spelling with o.

33. ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ‘a dispensation’: for οἰκονομία in this sense, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. οἰκονομία C.

ΕΡΟΝ: the last letter is corrected; the most plausible scenario is that the scribe first wanted to write ΕΡΟΟΥ, thereby continuing the third person plural of ΕΤΡΕΥΞΙ, and wrote ΕΡΟΟ, then discovered that the person should actually be first plural and used the last o as the first vertical of the η.

34. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΕΙ ΝῒΒΩΚ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠῒΠΕ ‘when their father came and went into the temple’: as we have previously encountered (see comm. on 5, ἦτερε ... ὡππε and 13, ἀνον ... νωνῆ), after the precursive/temporal (with ensuing conjunctive) the main clause does not follow, at least not immediately, because the author decides to add information as to why the priest entered the temple: ΕΤΡῒΟΥΩΥΤ ΜΠΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΝῒΩΡῒ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΕΘΟΣ ΜΠΑΤΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΗ ‘to worship the idol first before he went to his house, as was his custom’. He then restates the information that the priest went into the temple by means of the precursive ΝΤΕΡῒΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ‘after he went inside’, followed by the main clause ΜΠΕΦΖΕ ΕΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ ‘he did not find them’.

ΕΤΡῒΟΥΩΥΤ ΜΠΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΝῒΩΡῒ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΕΘΟΣ ΜΠΑΤΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΗ ‘to worship the idol first before he went to his house, as was his custom’: reinforces Mark’s characterization of his father in 32, ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΦΜΕ ΜΠ[Ν]ΟΥΓΤΕ ΠΒΗΘ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΝ ‘for he loves the falcon god more than us’.

35. Contrary to Frankfurter, *Religion*, 68, the story of the old woman cannot be taken at face value as historical evidence for the defense by locals of the traditional religion. As remarked in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 268, the woman plays an important literary role in the conversion story of Philae as she embodies its ‘pagan’ past. Consequently, she characterizes the priest as ΣΜΑΜΑΔΤ ‘blessed’ and Macedonius as ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ ‘criminal’, ΠΛΑΝΑ ‘leading astray’ and ΤΑΚΕ ΠΕΥΞΗΤ ‘corrupting their minds’, which is exactly the other way round from Christian discourse, in which the first term would be used for a Christian and the other ones for a ‘pagan’. The inverse idiom is set straight in 40 where Macedonius addresses the temple priest after the miracle of the camel’s leg: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ἸΤΑΚῒ ΖΗΥ ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΚΠΛΑΝΑ ΜΠΕΙΜΗΗΩΕ ΕΤΡΕΥῒ ΟΣΕ ἸΤΕΥ-ΥΥΧΗ; ‘Aristos, what have you gained by leading astray this multitude so that they lose their souls?’. Significantly, the old woman, whom Macedonius curses when he finds out that she has told the priest and then makes her dumb (36), is the last to be converted on the island after the holy man himself has healed



her (53). Note that both the old woman and the priest refer to Macedonius as a *MONOXOC* ‘monk’. For the *topos* of the old woman, rife with negative associations in ancient, including Christian, literature, see e.g. M. Massaro, ‘*Aniles Fabellae*’, *SIFC* 49 (1977) 104–135; J.N. Bremmer, ‘The Old Women of Ancient Greece’, in J. Blok and P. Mason (eds), *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987) 191–215; J. Ziolkowski, ‘Old Wives’ Tales: Classicism and anti-Classicism from Apuleius to Chaucer’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 12 (2002) 90–113; A.-B. Renger, ‘Geschichte eines Topos: Von *μύθοι γραιῶν/τιτθῶν* über *fabulae aniles/nutricularum* zu “Altweibergeschwätz” und “Ammenmärchen”’, in W. Kofler and K. Töchterle (eds), *Die antike Rhetorik in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte* (Innsbruck, 2005) 64–76; S. Tilg, ‘The Poetics of Old Wives’ Tales or Apuleius and the Philosophical Novel’, in E.P. Cueva and S.N. Byrne (eds), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (Oxford, 2014) 552–569 at 555–557.

ⲙⲓⲣⲏⲉ: the scribe erroneously duplicated the ⲡ, then corrected the second one to ⲡ.

{ΟΥ} ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ‘undoubtedly’: the scribe meant to write ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ‘by all means, no doubt’, but instead wrote down the opposite, ΟΥ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ‘by no means’. Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 84 translate correctly (‘forse’). Cf. the translations by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 962 (‘and this is not all’), Borghouts, *Egyptische sagen*, 186 (‘niet slechts’) and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 88 (‘and, what is more,’).

36. ⲉⲧⲥⲣⲟϥⲣ̅ⲧ̅: read ⲉⲧⲥⲣⲟϥⲟⲣ̅ⲧ̅ ‘accursed’. The word is similarly spelled with additional ⲡ in 107 (see comm. on ⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲣⲟϥⲉⲣ) and without ⲟ in 120 (comm. on ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲣⲟϥⲣ̅ⲧ̅). For the merging of -ΟΥΟ- into -ΟΥ-, see Introduction, p. 31.

ΟΥ: for this spelling of the vocative marker instead of Ω, see comm. on 8, ΟΥ ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲉϥⲓ[ϣ].

ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ‘just as the Apostle Peter said to Simon’: the words in the following quote from Acts 13:11 are spoken by Paul to the magician Bar-Jesus (Elymas) and apparently the author got mixed up with Acts 8:20 (quoted in a different context in 107, see comm. on ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲧ ... ϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ), where Peter rebukes another magician, Simon. For the interrelations between both passages, see e.g. D. Marguerat, ‘Magic and Miracle in the Acts of the Apostles’, in T.E. Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World* (London, 2003) 100–124 at 115–123. It may be significant that the result of Paul’s blinding of Bar-Jesus is a conversion, that of the *proconsul* Sergius Paulus, although in this case it is the old woman herself who will be converted.

37–40. Macedonius’ vision in 37 is deliberately juxtaposed with the similar, more elaborate vision that Mark and Isaiah receive in 40. In both passages, central elements are the ‘fatherly’ relationship between Macedonius and the

boys, the appearance of a man of light and his giving the boys certain attributes. However, in each case the vision is worked out differently, as it is seen through the eyes of Macedonius and Mark, respectively. A main difference is that in the first vision, the boys are crowned and receive a staff with a key, which are general symbols of authority and possibly predict their fate as bishops, whereas in the second vision, they are dressed in a tunic and covered with a stole, especially the latter indicating clerical status (see comm. on 40, ἀϥϥολᾶ ἡοϥεπωμῑς). Another significant difference is that at the beginning of his vision Macedonius sees himself as a father with his two sons, whereas in the boys' vision this element comes last and is more ambiguous, as the man of light places them in Macedonius' lap. At first, Macedonius misinterprets his vision as meaning that he will have children (38); it is only after he has been encouraged by a voice to look for the boys (38) and he has found them (39) that he realizes that his vision means that he will be a spiritual father of the boys. Seeing plays a key role in the episode, as in the first vision Macedonius and the boys are asleep and he only sees who they are after he has been encouraged by the voice to search for them. By contrast, in the second vision, the boys are wide awake and immediately know in whose lap they are placed. Significantly, both Macedonius (39) and Mark (40) look to the right before they recognize each other. The whole episode thus serves to reinforce the message that the boys are destined to become clergymen and are meant to be with Macedonius.

37. πᾶ 'the Valley': since Macedonius heads north from Philae his place of refuge may well be the wadi situated north-east of the island (Fig. 2), see Timm 4.1876–1877; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 250. The Valley is a key setting in sections 2–3 of the *Life of Aaron*. After Macedonius has found his two 'sons' in the desert, it is the place to which he takes them and where they start living together (41), where the miracle of the camel's leg takes place (44), where he confronts the temple priest (48), to which he returns after the conversion of Philae (53) and where he is buried (54, πβολ ἡπερμᾶ ἡῶωπε 'outside his dwelling'). Although it is not explicitly said where Mark and Isaiah lived after Macedonius' death, it can be assumed that they continued to live in the Valley, for they were both buried next to Macedonius (74, 78). The Valley is mentioned for the second time in 90 (spelled πῑᾶ) as the place where Aaron leads his monastic life and has his dwelling when Isaac joins him, and a third and fourth time in 95 (again πῑᾶ) when demons attack them in their sleep. Their dwelling figures several times in other stories and miracles of Aaron (92, 94, 98, 101, 108, 124). In one of these, Aaron asks Isaac to go to the road from Aswan to Philae to find an interpreter, which reinforces the identification of the Valley with the mentioned wadi, as the road is situated near its entrance (see comm. on 99, ἡτεριῶωκ ... ῑσοῶᾶν). In an anecdote related in 130, Aaron walks away

‘into the Valley’ to perform his ascetic practices, which is the fifth and last time that the place is mentioned by name (now as ΠΑ). Finally, Aaron is buried here beside the first three bishops of Philae (137).

A toponym Πιαυω/Πιαουω is known from three Greek ostraka from Elephantine, all dating to the second century: *O.Leid.* 328.2 (a second-century letter to the elders of Πιαουω about the towing of boats; in the *ed. princ.* the toponym is read as Πιαουκ( )), the unpublished Louvre ostrakon OGL 1476.5–6 (a receipt of taxes on palm groves from Ammon’s land ‘in Πιαουω’ of AD 182–183; the same name occurs, without the toponym, in *SB VI* 9604.24.7, dated to AD 173, and in another unpublished Louvre ostrakon, OGL 2351.4, dated to AD 176–177), and *O.Eleph. Wagner* 101.1, 2 (the draft of a lease of vineyards of AD 150–151, where instead of Πιμ(ω)/Πιμιω( ) Πιαυ(ω)/Πιαυω should be read; personal communication of R. Duttenhöfer, whom we thank for kindly sharing this information with us). It is unclear whether we are dealing here with the same toponym.

מִנִּין: the spelling מִנִּין instead of מִנִּי is often triggered by a following vowel, in this case probably on account of the weak  $\zeta$  of  $\zeta\epsilon\eta$ -, see W.C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (Munich, 1961<sup>2</sup>) 7 (§ 21; as a feature of Faiyumic and Subakh-mimic, but it occurs in all dialects); Kahle, *Bala’izah* 1, 119–120 (§ 90).

αφωκ ερραι εττιε <εγ>ειορμ̄ νωω ‘and he ascended to heaven while they gazed after him’: cf. the similar wording in the ascension scene of Jesus in Acts 1:10, εγειορμ̄ νωω εφβηκ ερραι εττιε ‘while they gazed after him going up to heaven’.

38. מִנִּינְסָא תְּרַאֲבֹתָאֲסֵע ‘after having renounced marriage’: ἀποτάσσω can mean ‘to renounce the world’ in general, but refers here more specifically to renouncing marriage, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἀποτάσσω E.

ερε ηζωβ οκ̄ ‘long ago’: οκ̄ is the stative of ωκ̄, see Crum, *Dict.* 530b–531a, where this very example is given.

πεκογωω μαρ̄ωωπε ‘your will be done’: as in the famous words from the Lord’s Prayer, Matt. 6:10, cf. Luke 11:2.

εζενκεγος νζω[τ̄τ̄]: just as Paul (Acts 9:15: ογκεγος νωωτ̄τ̄; in Coptic, see e.g. *Homily of Demetrius of Antioch on the Birth of Our Lord and the Virgin Mary*, fol. 31b [ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 83]: πεκεγος νωωτ̄τ̄ παγλος), Mark and Isaiah are God’s ‘chosen vessels’, as Macedonius discovers in 39 (ἡζενκεγος νωωτ̄τ̄).

39. [ε]γνηλχ ελ ογκοοζ ἡτοογ ‘lying below a hilltop’: for this meaning of κοοζ, see comm. on 13, πκοοζ, where it denotes a toponym (the monastic community where Anianus and Paul receive their training). Cf. the first encounter between Paphnutius and Onnophrius in the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 6b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 210), where the latter, also greatly suffering from

lack of food and water,  $\alpha\phi\eta\sigma\chi\eta\ \nu\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota\ \rho\alpha\ \tau\zeta\alpha\iota\beta\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\zeta\ \nu\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  ‘lay down for a while in the shadow of a hilltop’. The boys, then, sought shelter in just such a place to protect themselves against the scorching sun.

$\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ : read  $\tau\omicron\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ , but cf. Kahle, *Bala’izah* 1, 129–130 (§ 110, under b).

40.  $\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\sigma\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  ‘I walked towards them’, so he said’: with the formula  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  ‘so he said’, we return to the eyewitness account by Macedonius, that is, the tertiary level of narration, which was left at 31 (see comm. on 28,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\Delta\eta\ \dots$  [ $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota$ ]  $\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , and 31,  $\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\bar{\eta}\beta\omega\kappa\ \dots\ \varsigma\alpha\zeta\eta\epsilon$ ). It is perhaps no coincidence that we briefly return to the story as told through Macedonius’ eyes, as in this scene Macedonius and the boys find each other and Mark tells of the vision that he has seen and that confirms Macedonius’ own vision (see comm. on 37–40).

$\pi\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma[\gamma]$  ‘that elder one’: referring back to the boy Macedonius had seen standing to his right ( $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \pi\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon$  ‘who was the elder one’) in his vision in 37.

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon\gamma$  ‘with a four volume book in his hand’: no doubt a book with the four Gospels.

$\alpha\phi\sigma\omicron\lambda\tau\ \nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$  ‘he covered me with a stole’: for the ‘stole’, indicative of clerical status, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  2, K.C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden, 1992) 55–58, and Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 116, who cites *Apophth. Patr.*, Alph. Coll., Moses 4 (*PG* 65, col. 284),  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$  ‘he became a clergyman and the stole was placed upon him’. It is spelled  $\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$  here and  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\mu\iota\varsigma$  in 58 and 69, where Athanasius refers back to this vision. For the  $\omicron\gamma$ - $\omega$  interchange, see Introduction, p. 31.

$\omicron\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$ : read  $\omicron\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$  ‘for a while’, as in the next sentence. The spelling  $\alpha\pi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$  is not noted in Crum, *Dict.* 14a but occurs more often in Esna-Edfu manuscripts (e.g. *Encomium on Victor the General*, fol. 47a [ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 78]). It may have a basis in the word’s etymology, if the plausible suggestion of J. Vergote (unpublished note) to derive it from  $\alpha$ - + (Late Egyptian)  $prt$  (for which see Erman and Grapow, *WB* s.v.  $prt$  3; L.H. and B.S. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 1 [Berkeley, 1982] 177–178) can be accepted.

$\alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\beta\omega\upsilon\tau\ \dots\ \alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\beta\omega\upsilon\bar{\eta}$ : read  $\alpha\phi\beta\omega\upsilon\tau\ \dots\ \alpha\phi\beta\omega\upsilon\bar{\eta}$ . For labial ‘cumul’ ( $\omicron\gamma\beta$  for  $\beta$ ) in the Esna-Edfu manuscripts, see Introduction, p. 32.

$\nu\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$  ‘as before’: see Crum, *Dict.* 639b.

$\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\mu\eta$  ‘because of you’: consists of  $\nu$ - and a possessive pronoun followed by the loanword  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\rho\mu\acute{\eta}$  ‘means, cause’, as also found e.g. in *Encomium on Theodore the General*, fol. 5a, 15a, 17b, 32a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 6, 17, 19, 35) and *Homily of Severus of Antioch on Michael the Archangel* (*CPG* 7043), fol. 26a (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 170).

41. ἡΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΣΩΤῆΡ ΕΝΕΙΘΑ.ΧΕ ΔΑΦΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ‘when the bishop heard these words, he remembered’: we leave Macedonius’ eyewitness account again, which only consists of 40 this time, and continue on the secondary narrative level, as in 31.

ΔΑΦΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΧΟΟQ ΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΕΙ ΕΧΩΤῆΡ ‘he remembered what the Apostle said: “And the spirits of the prophets will come upon you”’: a rather loose quote from 1Cor. 14:32, ΝΤΕ ΝΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ‘and the spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets’, which itself continues 14:31, ΟΥΝ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΕΤΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΤΗ ΟΥΔΑ ΟΥΔΑ ΧΕ ΕΥΕCΒΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΕCΕΠCΩΠΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ‘for it is possible that all of you prophesy one by one, so that all will be taught and all be consoled’ (ed. Thompson, *Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles*, 142, cf. Horner, *Coptic Version of the New Testament* 4, 296, whose text leaves out ΟΥΔΑ ΟΥΔΑ and continues with [ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕ]CΑΒΟ ΤΗΡ[ΟΥ ΝCΕCΕΠCΩ]ΠΟΥ ΤΗ[ΡΟΥ] in 14.31 and omits ΝΤΕ in 14.32). The conjunctive, then, can best be explained not by its sentence initial position but because it has been taken over from the source text, see Introduction, p. 28.

42. In this scene the sons of the temple priest undergo a name change and are baptized. When Macedonius decides to baptize them and asks their names, the elder answers: ΝΕΝΡΑΝ ΖΟCΕ ΝCῆΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΗΡΑΝ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΧΜΟΥΤΕ [Ε]ΡΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ‘Our names are hard for you to utter, for we are called by the names of gods’. Apparently, the boys have theophoric names, as we know were indeed carried by the last priests of Philae (Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 195–197). They are ‘hard to utter’ for Macedonius not because they are Nubian (*pace* Martin, *Athanase*, 644) but because Mark (rightly) foresees that the Christian holy man will be troubled by them (cf. Spiegelberg, ‘Ägyptologische Beiträge III’, 189). They tell him the names and Macedonius states that they can no longer keep them. He then renames the boys Mark and Isaiah and baptizes them. Since the renunciation of theophoric names was not widespread in Late Antique Egypt and people usually received their names at birth, not during baptism (Martin, *Athanase*, 644; G.H.R. Horsley, ‘Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity’, *Numen* 34 [1987] 1–17 at 10–11), it is improbable that the historical Mark and Isaiah (on which see the entry below) changed their names. Even though it cannot be excluded that they were brothers, as some cases are known of brothers succeeding each other as bishop (most famously Peter II [373–380] and Timothy I [380–385] of Alexandria; Martin, *Athanase*, 644), the name change is rather a literary invention and needs to be seen, just as in the case of the old woman (comm. on 35), as another way to symbolize the metamorphosis of Philae from a predominantly ‘pagan’ to a Christian community. Note that the motif of the sons of temple priests con-

verting to Christianity is also found in the *Life of Moses* (ed. W.C. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*, vol. 2 [Rome, 1936] 50). See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 263–264.

ΝΕΝΡΑΝ ΖΟϸΕ ΝϸῆΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ‘our names are hard for you to utter’: ΝϸῆΤΟΥ is a conjunctive that serves as the verbal complement of ΖΟϸΕ, see Introduction, p. 26. For Ν6- = ΝΓ-, frequent in the Theban region, see Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 105–106; Crum, *Dict.* 49a and 801a; Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 95 (§ 67b). The verb is ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ, which equals among others Greek προφέρω ‘to utter’, see Crum, *Dict.* 79b. Cf. Crum, *Dict.* 820a, who cites our passage under ΓΙΝΕ ‘to find’, referring to Mark 14:68, where ΓΙΝΕ has the meaning ‘to understand’, but which does not fit the present context.

ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϸ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΙCΑΗΑΣ ‘He called him Mark and the second one (he called) Isaiah’: like Macedonius (comm. on 28, ΜΑ{Ρ}ΚΕΔΟΝΙΟΥC), Mark and Isaiah are attested, besides the *Life of Aaron*, in the works of Athanasius. Mark was banished with five other bishops by the Arian Bishop George of Alexandria to the Siwa oasis in 356 (Ath. *h. Ar.* 72.2 [Opitz 2, p. 222]) and is mentioned among the bishops present at a synod in Alexandria in 362 which resulted in the letter by Athanasius to the Eustathian community at Antioch (Ath. *tom.* prol. and 10.3 [Brennecke, Heil and Von Stockhausen, pp. 341, 350]; on the letter, see in detail Martin, *Athanase*, 543–565). Moreover, we know the exact date of Mark’s succession by Isaiah, as it is attested in a fragment of Athanasius’ Festal Letter of 368 preserved in Coptic, where it states ΗCΑΙΑC ΕΠΜΑ ΜΜΑΡΚΟΣ ‘Isaiah in place of Mark’ (ed. R.-G. Coquin, ‘Les lettres festales d’Athanase [CPG 2102]. Un nouveau complément: le manuscrit IFAO, Copte 25’, *OLP* 15 [1984] 133–158 at 146 [IFAO, Copte 25, fol. 8a]; cf. A. Camplani, *Le lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria* [Rome, 1989] 308–311). As set out in the introductory entry above and in the comm. on 43, ΑCΩΩΠΕ ... ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC, little, if anything, of the description of Mark and Isaiah in the *Life of Aaron* is historical.

While the name Mark is extremely common in Late Antique Egypt, Isaiah is much less predominant. Trismegistos People only lists 10 attestations in Greek papyri, in various spellings (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>, Nam\_ID 22011); additional ones in Coptic are found in *NB Kopt.* s.v. ΗCΑΙΑC (with variations), ΗCΑΙΕΙΑC and ΙCΑΗΑΣ. In our text the name is spelled ΙCΑΗΑΣ here (42) and ΗCΑΙΑC subsequently (43, 46, 54, 56, 58, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 137).

43. ΤΕCΚΑΤΑCΤΑCΙC ‘his way of life’: see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. κατάCταCιC 5. Since ΤΕCΓΙΝΖΜΟΟC means virtually the same thing, we have translated ‘his observance’.

ΕΤΡῚΩΩΒ ΜΠῚΩ ΝΤῚΑΠΕ ‘to shave the hair off our heads’: as in Antiquity, still today a monastic rite of initiation. See, in general, e.g. C. Rapp, *Brother-*

*Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* (Oxford, 2016) 103–105, referring to the *Life of John the Little* (ed. É.C. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne. Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte* [Cairo, 1894] 330), and for the modern context, Burmester, *Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 190, 192–193. Cf. 92, where Isaac is initiated into monkhood by shaving off his hair and clothing him in the monastic habit.

Ἀφωδιε δε μῆνιςα ζενζοογ ἀφρ πμεεγε μπζορομα ἡταφναγ εροφ νοι πεπισκοπος ετογᾶαβ ετβε πωηρε σναγ ἀγω πεχαγ δε name παι πε πωηρε σναγ νταιναγ εροογ, πογα ρι ογναμ ἀγω πογα ρι ρβογρ μμοι. ἀφμαζτε μμαρκος ἡφωρπῖ ἀφααγ μπρεσβγτερος ἀγω ησαις πεφς'ο' (ν) ἀφααγ νλιδ-κονος. 'And after a few days it happened that the holy bishop remembered the vision that he had seen about the two boys and said: "Truly these are the two boys that I have seen, the one to the right, the other to the left of me". He took Mark first and made him priest and Isaiah, his brother, he made deacon': while in 41 Macedonius picked up the last element of Mark's vision to conclude from it that he and the boys were destined to be together, he now refers back to his own vision in 37 and addresses its other prophesy, the ordination of Mark and Isaiah as ecclesiastical dignitaries. Mark is ordained priest and Isaiah deacon, and later, when he has become bishop, Mark will promote Isaiah to the priesthood (73), so that he can become the third bishop.

Unlike the motif of the conversion of priestly sons (comm. on 42), turning them into ecclesiastical dignitaries is a unique motif in Egyptian hagiography. As a suitable parallel, however, we can adduce the works on Cyprian of Antioch, also widespread in Egypt, in which the protagonist, a magician, converts to Christianity after he has discovered that the Devil is not as powerful as he thought and is eventually martyred as bishop of Antioch. The paradoxical change from magician to bishop emphasizes the message of the story that magical practices are demonic and ineffective and makes Cyprian's conversion all the more glorious. See L. Krestan, A. Hermann, 'Cyprianus II (Magier)', in *RAC* III (1957) 467–477; J. van der Vliet, 'Cypriaan de Tovenaar. Christendom en magie in Koptische literatuur', in M. Schipper, P. Schrijvers (eds), *Bezweren en betoveren. Magie en literatuur wereldwijd* (Baarn, 1995) 84–94. In the same way, the appointment of Mark and Isaiah as ecclesiastical dignitaries, and later even bishops, seems deliberately used to contrast it with their 'pagan' origins and the shift is likely to be just as legendary as in the case of Cyprian. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 262–263.

44. ζενανογβα 'some Nubians': contacts with the people from the other side of the frontier were frequent and Nubians were also part of the multi-ethnic population of the First Cataract region (Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 25–26). It

is no wonder therefore that they figure prominently in our work. In the current passage (44–47), two Nubians fight over an injured camel. Macedonius resolves the conflict and enables Isaiah to heal its leg, a miracle that leads to the conversion of Philae. When Mark is in Alexandria to be appointed bishop, he asks Athanasius advice whether he should give bread to the poor Nubians living east and south-west of Philae, even though they are pagan; the patriarch responds at length that Mark should do so (61–68). Nubians also appear several times in section 3. When Isaac comes looking for Aaron in the desert because he thinks that ‘Nubians’ are tormenting him, his master explains to him that they are in fact demons (93). Moreover, they are involved in three of Aaron’s miracles: a Nubian whose son is swallowed by a crocodile receives a piece of wood from Aaron and throws it into the river, after which his son is returned unharmed (98); another Nubian brings his sick son to Aaron (122); and, finally, when a one-eyed Nubian does not show too much trust in Aaron’s abilities, his blind eye is healed but his good eye turns blind, and he only regains his full eyesight when he begs the holy man for mercy (123). See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 330–332.

The ethnic  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  ‘Nubian’ is first encountered in a fifth-century letter from Qasr Ibrim, in which the tribune Viventius writes to Tantani,  $\pi\epsilon\phi\gamma\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\pi\rho\epsilon\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\eta\alpha\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  ‘the tribal chief of the people of the Nubians’ (*FHN* 320.3–4 and 21, where the title is shortened to  $\pi\epsilon\phi\gamma\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\eta\alpha\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  = *SB Kopt.* IV 1772; cf. *FHN* III 321.1 = *SB Kopt.* IV 1773, in which he is addressed as  $\pi\iota\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \nu\eta\alpha\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  ‘the lord of the Nubians’). In addition to the attestations in the *Life of Aaron*, the term  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  appears in a fragmentary piece of monastic literature found at Hiw, west of Dendara, dated to about the seventh century (ed. Crum, *Theological Texts*, 168 [no. 29, fol. 1b, line 9]; see on this text also Introduction, p. 42 [n. 172]), and in various spellings on several tombstones from the monastery of Hatre at Aswan, from the seventh century onwards (H. Munier, ‘Les stèles coptes du Monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan’, *Aegyptus* 11 [1930–1931] 257–300, 433–484 at 267 [no. 7.4–5 = *SB Kopt.* I 504:  $\alpha\lambda\omega[\beta\alpha\varsigma]$ ], 275 [no. 26.5–6 = *SB Kopt.* I 523:  $[\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma]\beta\alpha\varsigma$ ], 276 [no. 28.2 = *SB Kopt.* I 525:  $\alpha\lambda\omega\beta\alpha\varsigma$ ], 281 [no. 39bis.6 = *SB Kopt.* I 537:  $\alpha\lambda\omega\beta(?)\alpha\varsigma$ ], 286 [no. 49.4–5 = *SB Kopt.* I 547:  $\alpha\lambda\omega\beta\alpha\varsigma$ ], 286 [no. 50.5–6 = *SB Kopt.* I 548:  $\alpha\lambda\omega\beta\alpha[c]$ ] and 461 [no. 127.6 = *SB Kopt.* I 625:  $[\alpha]\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha\varsigma$ ]). Since the ethnic  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  begins to occur in Greek sources at about the same time and denotes the Nubian population of the Aswan region and further south, it can be assumed that  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\beta\alpha$  refers to the same people. Significantly, in his petition to the emperor in which he complains about incursions of the Blemmyes and Noubades into his see, Bishop Appion of Syene calls the latter  $\text{Ἀννουβᾶδες}$  (*P.Leid.* Z 6 = *FHN* 314; AD 425–450). See L.P. Kirwan, ‘A Survey of Nubian Origins’, *Sudan Notes and Records* 20 (1937) 47–



62 at 53–54 (repr. in idem, *Studies on the History of Late Antique and Christian Nubia*, Ch. IX); Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 152, ‘Blemmyes, Noubades and the Eastern Desert in Late Antiquity: Reassessing the Written Sources’, in H. Barnard, K. Duistermaat (eds), *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert* (Los Angeles, 2012) 238–247 at 242, and ‘I, Silko, Came to Talmis and Taphis’. Interactions between the Peoples beyond the Egyptian Frontier and Rome in Late Antiquity’, in J.H.F. Dijkstra, G. Fisher (eds), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Leuven, 2014) 299–330 at 306.

ἡν νεγδαμογλ ‘with their camels’: the camel was introduced in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period and widely used in Late Antiquity as a mode of transportation, see R.S. Bagnall, ‘The Camel, the Wagon, and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt’, *BASP* 22 (1985) 1–6, and *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 39. Due to its location at a crossroads, it is to be expected that camels frequently traversed the Cataract region. Indeed, there was a καμηλῶν ‘camel yard’ in Aswan (*P.Lond.* v 1722.14 [AD 530]), which later even gave its name to a λαύρα τοῦ δημοσίου Καμηλῶνος τῆς βασιταγῆς Φιλῶν ‘quarter of the public Camel Yard of the transport (service) from Philae’ (*PMünch.* I 11.23 [AD 586], 12.18–19 [AD 590/591]), suggesting that there was also some sort of regular transport service with camels from Philae to Aswan. It is therefore not surprising that camels appear in our work several times.

46. ΤΛΑΚΑΝΗ ‘the basin’: for ΛΑΚΑΝΗ, see comm. on 27, ΔΦΕΙΝΕ ... ἸΝΕΝ-ΟΥΡΗ[Η]ΤΕ, where Isaac uses it to wash the feet of Paphnutius and Pseleusius. Here it refers no doubt back to the ἡΚΑ ‘vessel’ that Macedonius used in his cell to pour water in and with which he baptized Mark and Isaiah in 42.

[ΕΒΟΛ] ΧΕ ΝΕΦΗΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΕΘΟΥ [ΕΤΩΟΥ]ΕΙΤ ‘for he shunned vainglory’: ΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ ‘vainglory’ (Greek κενοδοξία) is one of the eight principal vices to be avoided by monks, see e.g. Evagr. Pont. *cap. pract.* 13 (SC 171, pp. 528–531), on which see M. Malevez, ‘The Spiritual Reasoning of the First Wanderer Monks of Egypt’, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 7 (2015) 25–48 at 35–36, with further references.

ΔΥΩ Δ(Υ)ΟΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΣ ‘he made the sign of the cross over it’: the Trinitarian formula is accompanied by the gesture of the sign of the cross. For σφραγιζώ in this sense, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. σφραγιζω B.

47. ΔΥΡ ΩΠΗΡΕ ‘they were amazed’ ... ΔΥΤ ΕΘΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ‘they glorified God’ ... ΔΥΤ ΠΟΘΕΙΤ ‘they spread the fame’: these are all common verbs to describe the reactions by the onlookers to Jesus’ miracles in the Gospels, see e.g. H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus* (Leiden, 1965) 128–129.

ΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΗΠΙΡΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΟΥΗΝΒ ΠΕ ‘the high priest of the temple, that is, the priest’: this is the only time in our work that the priest, who is otherwise

simply called ποῦννβ, is designated with the highest priestly title in the Egyptian temple hierarchy. On the ἀρχιερεὺς (Egyptian *mr-šn*), see in general e.g. K.-T. Zauzich, ‘Lesonis’, in *LÄ* III (1980) 1008–1009; W. Clarysse, ‘Egyptian Temples and Priests: Graeco-Roman’, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1 (Chichester, 2010) 274–290 at 288.

48. ἀριστος, ἡτακτὶ ζηγυ νοῦ δε ἀκπλανά μπειμνηδε ετρεγτ̃ οσε ἡτεγ-  
 ὕχη; ‘Aristos, what have you gained by leading astray this multitude so that they lose their souls?’: as explained in comm. on 35, this sentence sets straight the inversed idiom used by the old woman to the priest.

ἀριστος ‘Aristos’: Trismegistos People lists 21 attestations for the name in Greek documents and one Coptic text ([http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/Nam\\_ID\\_2266](http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/Nam_ID_2266)), which is also found in *NB Kopt.* s.v.

49. μεεϥ[α]νεχει ‘he did not allow him’: for this meaning of ἀνέχω, see Förster, *WB* s.v. ἀνέχω 2.

εαϥτ̃ ε[τ]οοτ̃ḡ μπτωμ μβαπτισμα ἡ τπιστις ετσογτων ‘(he) initiated him in the ordinance of baptism and the right faith’: on baptism in the early Egyptian liturgical tradition, see G. Kretschmar, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie, insbesondere der Tauf liturgie, in Ägypten’, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 8 (1963) 1–54, and P.F. Bradshaw, ‘Baptismal Practice in the Alexandrian Tradition: Eastern or Western?’, in P.F. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation* (Bramcote, 1988) 5–17, and the general surveys by M.E. Johnson, *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt* (Cambridge, 1995) 7–16, and *The Rites of Christian Initiation. Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, MI, 2007<sup>2</sup>) 116–122.

ναιαατ̃ ρω, [π]αειωτ̃ ετογααβ, δε αἰρ̃ πμπωα [ε]σωτ̃ḡ ενειωαδε ετ̃ρολς εβολ [ρ]ḡ τεκταπρ̃ο ετογααβ ‘Blessed am I, my holy father, that I am worthy to hear these sweet words from your holy mouth’: note that in 30 it is Athanasius who persuades Macedonius ρḡ νεϥωαδε ετ̃ρολ[σ] ‘with his sweet words’ to become bishop of Philae.

50. τωογḡ ḡβω[κ] ερογḡ ετπολις ḡτ̃ḡ προογω [μ]ḡεκηḡ ḡκ̃οτ̃ḡ ḡογεκκλης[ια επ̃εοογ ḡ]ḡενχ(οει)ς ι(ḡσογ)ς ‘Rise, go to the city, arrange your house and turn it into a church for the glory of our Lord Jesus’: interestingly, the priest is not asked to turn the temple of Isis into a church but his own house (as noted by Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 330), as we know many early churches were built into former houses. For two fourth-century examples from the Dakhleh oasis, the Small East Church at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) and the church of ‘Ain el-Gedida, see G.E. Bowen, ‘The Small East Church at Ismant el-Kharab’, in G.E. Bowen, C.A. Hope (eds), *The Oasis Papers 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford, 2003) 153–165 (esp. pp. 162, 164), and N. Aravecchia, ‘The Church Complex of ‘Ain el-Gedida,

Dakhleh Oasis’, in R.S. Bagnall, P. Davoli, C.A. Hope (eds), *The Oasis Papers 6. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford, 2012) 391–408 (esp. pp. 402–403). See in general, R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1986<sup>4</sup>) 26–29.

ⲁϣϥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϣⲏ ϣⲉⲛ[ⲃⲁ] ⲙⲏ ϣⲉⲛϣⲏⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ‘(he) adorned it with palm branches and linen cloths’: Crum, *Dict.* 27b mentions under ⲃⲁ ‘palm branch’ specifically that it is used ‘for decorating houses’. For the Greek word σινδόνιον ‘linen cloth’, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.; A. Boud’hors and F. Calament, ‘De la Bible aux tissus: le témoignage d’un papyrus copte du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds), *Études coptes xv. Dix-septième journée d’études* (Paris, 2018) 159–175 at 161–168. A similar description, in which some monks claim to have cleaned a church after a ‘barbarian’ raid, is found in a *dipinto* from Oxyrhynchus, dating to around the sixth century, N. Bosson, ‘Inscriptions d’Oxyrhynque provenant du secteur 19’, in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds), *Études coptes xiii. Quinzième journée d’études* (Paris, 2015) 69–89 at 79–80 (no. 17, lines 11–13), with the comments by A. Delattre, J.H.F. Dijkstra, J. van der Vliet, ‘Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 3 (2015)’, *BASP* 53 (2016) 377–393 at 382 (no. 12), ⲁⲛϣⲁⲗⲣⲉϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁ(ⲛ)ⲛⲟϣϥ ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲟⲟϥ [read ⲙⲙⲟϥ] ‘we swept clean, sprinkled and decorated it (i.e. the church)’.

51. ⲁϣⲕⲁⲟⲛ[ⲣⲉ: the scribe, undoubtedly thinking that the subject of the previous clause, [ⲛ]ⲙⲏⲟⲩⲉ, would continue, first wrote ⲁϣ-, then corrected it to ⲁϣ-.

ⲉⲡⲧⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲓⲧⲓϥ[ⲙⲁ ⲉ]ⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ‘the ordinance of holy baptism’: in the same way as Aristos is earlier instructed in the ritual (see comm. on 49, ⲉⲁϣⲧ ... ⲉⲧϥⲟϥⲧⲱⲛ).

[ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲉϥϣⲓⲣⲟ] ‘partiality’: for this word, which is reconstructed but fits both the context and the lacuna particularly well, see Crum, *Dict.* 648a; it is the equivalent of Greek προσωπολήψια, Lampe, *PGL* s.v.

ⲕϣⲣⲓϥϥ: that is, Greek κηρύσσω ‘to proclaim’; same spelling e.g. in *Homily of Severus of Antioch on Michael the Archangel* (CPG 7043), fol. 31a, 31b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 174, 175).

ⲁϣⲙⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϣⲣⲁⲛ ϣⲉ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ‘he called him Jacob’: just as in the case of Mark and Isaiah (see comm. on 42), the change to the common Christian name is for rhetorical effect, to describe the metamorphosis that Philae has undergone.

52. ⲁϣⲙⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉⲡ[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲟ ⲛ[ϣⲟⲣⲛ ⲁ]ϣϣⲉⲣⲟⲗⲟⲛⲉⲓ [ⲙⲙⲟ]ϣ ⲙⲡⲣⲉϥ-ⲃ[ϣⲧⲉⲣⲟϥ ‘He called the man who was first and ordained him priest’: this refers to the local Christian of 29–30, whom Macedonius first talked to and who informed him about how the Eucharist was celebrated when the idol worshippers still held sway over the island. After ordaining him priest, Mace-

donius now asks him and another local Christian (see next entry), whom he makes deacon, where the Eucharistic vessels are hidden. Thus ‘the man’ cannot be Jacob, as the former temple priest would not have known their location.

ϑΟΜΟΙ]ϞϢ ΟΝ Π[ΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑϞΕΙ] [Ϟ]ΔΡΟϞ ΔϞΤΑΜΟϞ ΕΤΡῒΞΟΠῒ ΔΕ ΣΕΔΙΩ-  
ΚΕΙ ΝΣΩϞ ΖΙΤῒ ΠΟΥΗΗΒ’ ΔϞΧΕΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝ ‘In the same way he  
ordained the man, who had come to him and told him that he should hide  
because he was chased by the priest, deacon’: that is, the Christian mentioned  
in 36.

ΝΕΣΚΕΥΗ ΕΤΕ ΦΑΥΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΜΜΩΤῒ ΖΙΩΟΥ ‘the vessels with which Com-  
munion is administered to you’: for the Eucharistic vessels, see Archbishop  
Basilios, E.M. Ishaq, ‘Eucharistic Vessels and Instruments’, in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991)  
1064–1066; Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 102–113.

ΕΥΤΩΝ: for this spelling, rather than the usual ΕΥΤΩΟΥΝ, see Introduction,  
pp. 28, 31.

ΚΩΛῒ ΝῒΚΕΛΕΕΛΕ ‘strike the gongs’: according to Crum, *Dict.* 103b ΚΕΛΕΕΛΕ  
are ‘sonorous wooden boards’. On their use, see A.J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic  
Churches of Egypt*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1884) 80–81.

53. The healing of the old woman makes undone the curse that Macedonius  
had placed upon her in 36 for telling the temple priest that he had killed the  
holy falcon and had made her dumb. There are several echoes of biblical mir-  
acle stories in this passage, most prominently of the healing of the deaf-mute  
by Jesus in Mark 7:33–37. As has been explained in comm. on 35, it is signifi-  
cant that the old woman, who represents the ‘pagan’ past of Philae, is the last  
to be converted on the island. Interestingly, in accordance with the adage that  
the first will be the last and the last the first (Matt. 19:30, 20:16; Mark 10:31; Luke  
13:30), after her baptism the old woman is the first of the entire crowd to receive  
Communion from the bishop.

[ΜΝ]ΝῒΣΑ ΝΔΙ ΔϞῒ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν[ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΝΧ(ΟΕΙ)Σ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ] ΔΕ ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
[ΤΑΡΟΥΚΩ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ· ΠΕΧΔ.]Ϟ ΟΝ [ΔΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΩΔΑΝῒΤΗϞ ΔΕ ΟΥ]ΩΔΝ[ῒΤΗϞ]  
ΠΕ ΠΕΤῒΕΙΩΤ ΕΤῒῒ ΜΠΗΥΕ ‘Then he remembered the commandment of our  
Lord Jesus: “Forgive and you will be forgiven”, and he also said: “Be merciful,  
for your Father in heaven is merciful”’: two quotes from the Sermon on the  
Plain, the first from Luke 6:37, the second from Luke 6:36, where ΕΤῒῒ ΜΠΗΥΕ  
‘in heaven’ has been added.

ΔϞΔ[ΟΟΥ] ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΤῒΛΛΟΥ ΩΑΡΟϞ ΖΙΧῒ ΟΥῒΛΟῒ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΝΕΜῒ ΣΟΜ  
ΜΜΟΣ ΕΜΟΟΩΕ ‘He sent a message to bring the old woman to him on a stretcher,  
for she was unable to walk’: this phrase may have reminded the audience of the  
healing of the paralyzed man in Luke 5:18 (cf. Mark 2:4), who is brought to Jesus  
ΖΙΧῒ ΟΥῒΛΟῒ ‘on a stretcher’.

ⲁϥⲓ ⲡⲉϣⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϣⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲛⲟϥ ⲁϥⲃⲱϣ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲙⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ‘he put his finger into her mouth. And immediately the bonds of her tongue were released, and she spoke plainly and praised God’: the author has clearly reworked the healing of the deaf-mute man in Mark 7:33–37 here to fit his narrative (as remarked by Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 268). In Mark, Jesus puts his fingers (ⲛⲉϣⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ) not in the man’s mouth, but in his ears; then he spits and touches the man’s tongue. After he has said ‘open’ in Aramaic, immediately (ⲛⲧⲉϥⲛⲟϥ) the ears of the man were opened ⲁϥⲱ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲧⲙⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϣⲗⲁⲥ ‘and the bond of his tongue was released’. Compared with the latter phrase, we can see that the author of our work has replaced the verb ⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ with similar ⲃⲱϣ and put the noun ⲙⲣⲉ into plural. Finally, ⲁⲥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ literally reproduces, apart of course from the changed person, ⲁϣⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ‘he spoke plainly’ in Mark. A major difference with the Gospel, however, is that in our work Macedonius himself has caused the woman’s distress and now comes back to her to heal her.

ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲭⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲏ ⲟϥⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲏ ⲉϥϥⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ‘they lifted up their voice and shouted’: cf. Acts 14:11, where the crowd responds to Paul’s healing of a crippled man: ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲭⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ... ⲉϥϥⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ‘they lifted up their voice ... saying’. The exact same phrase, though in a different context, is found in the *Life of Eustathius and Theopiste and Their Two Children*, fol. 14b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 117).

ⲟϥⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲗⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁ[ϥⲱ ⲙⲏ] ⲕⲉⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲃⲗ[ⲗⲁϥ ‘One is the God of the holy Bishop Apa Macedonius and there is no other god besides him!’: the enthusiastic response of the crowd is an adaptation of Mark 12:32, ⲟϥⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲱ ⲙⲙⲏ ⲕⲉ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲁϥ ‘God is one and besides him there is no other’. For the acclamation ⲟϥⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, Greek εἰς θεός, extremely widespread at this time, see e.g. E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen, 1926), in the reprint with additions and comments by C. Marksches et al. (Würzburg, 2012).

54. ⲛⲉⲁϥⲁⲁⲓ ‘he was advanced’: see comm. on 28, ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲓ.

ⲉⲓⲕ ⲭⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲁϥϥⲱⲛ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲉϣⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲩⲡⲱⲩⲛⲉ ‘The days of my visitation have drawn near’: cf. the *Homily of Cyril of Jerusalem on Mary Theotokos* (CPG 3603), fol. 18b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 67), where Mary says of her impending death ⲁϥϥⲱⲛ ⲉϣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϣⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲉⲓϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲩⲡⲱⲩⲛⲉ ‘the time of my visitation has drawn near’.

ⲙⲏⲛⲕⲁ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ‘after my perfection (in death)’: see comm. on 15, ⲱⲁ ... ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

55–74. While the first story of Macedonius pays much attention to the creation of the see of Philae and the conversion of the island to Christianity, the subsequent stories of Mark, Isaiah and Psoulousia concentrate more on their election and ordination in Alexandria. As shown by Dijkstra, Philae and the End, 238, these stories all three have the same structure. The first and most elaborate of them is the story of Mark, which contains the following elements: the people elect Mark, who is at first reluctant to accept (55–56); they send a delegation with him to Alexandria where Athanasius instructs and ordains Mark (57–71); the people celebrate the arrival of the new bishop and he administers them Communion (72); Mark ordains Isaiah priest, apparently on one of the few occasions in his episcopate when he comes out to Philae to celebrate the Eucharist (73); the bishop dies and the people bury him beside Macedonius (74). As can be seen from a quick comparison with the other episodes, especially the Alexandria episode, in which Athanasius takes centre stage, is greatly enlarged (see *comm.* on 57–71).

55.  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon$  ‘matter’: see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon$  D1; for this spelling, see Förster, *WB* s.v.  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon$  1.

$\mu\iota\omega\ \mu\mu\mu$ : read  $\mu\epsilon\omega\epsilon\ \mu\mu$  ‘such and such’, mentioned by Crum, *Dict.* 202a (present text), though this spelling remains singular. Perhaps we are dealing here with vowel assimilation and  $\epsilon$ - $\eta$  interchange due to the weakness of the  $\eta$  (yet the manuscript has  $\mu\iota\omega\ \cdot\ \mu\mu\mu$ , not  $\mu\iota\omega\eta\ \mu\mu$ ).

$\mu\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\iota}\ \eta\zeta\epsilon\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon\varphi\omega\beta\eta\rho$  ‘Let us choose men from among ourselves, just as Stephen and his companions were’: this refers to Acts 6:3, where the apostles instruct the congregation,  $\omega\tau\tau\iota\ \Delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\omega\gamma\ \eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \eta\zeta\eta\tau\ \tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$  ‘Brothers, choose seven men from among yourselves’ (ed. Thompson, *Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles*, 15; cf. Horner, *Coptic Version of the New Testament* 6, 114, whose text excludes  $\Delta\epsilon$ ). As a result, seven men are chosen, including Stephen.

$\eta\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\chi\ \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$  ‘and cast lots’: the manuscript has  $\eta\varsigma\epsilon\eta\epsilon\chi$ , probably because of preceding  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon\varphi\omega\beta\eta\rho$  ‘just as Stephen and his companions’ (see previous entry). However, the conjunctive continues the jussive  $\mu\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\iota}$  ‘let us choose’ and should therefore be corrected to  $\eta\tau\eta\eta\epsilon\chi$  ‘and cast lots’.

56.  $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$ : the manuscript has  $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$ , which is most likely due to vowel assimilation.

$\kappa\omega\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ,  $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\eta\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\pi\omega\alpha\ \Delta\eta\ \eta\zeta\omega\beta\ \eta\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$  ‘Forgive me, my fathers, I am unworthy of such a task’: Macedonius says practically the same words to Athanasius when he asks him to become the first bishop of Philae,  $\kappa\omega\ \eta\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ,  $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ [\epsilon]\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ ,  $\eta\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\pi\omega\alpha\ \Delta\eta\ \epsilon\zeta\omega\beta\ \bar{\eta}[\tau\bar{\iota}]\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$  ‘Forgive me, my holy father, I am unworthy of such a task’ (30).

57–71. The episode of Mark in Alexandria can be summarized as follows. When the delegation has found the archbishop, he kindly welcomes them, and the next morning he prioritizes them over a group of magistrates and instructs them (57–60). Upon Mark's question what he should do with some pagan Nubians asking for bread, Athanasius answers at length by citing biblical passages and telling a story of two monks, in which another story is embedded (61–68). Athanasius ordains Mark and when the delegation leaves, he urges him to make Isaiah a priest (69). Finally, on the way back in the harbour of Schissa, the delegation cannot find a boat but upon Mark's request again some magistrates cede their place so that the bishop and his companions can complete their journey (70–71). The episode is carefully crafted, with the detailed exposition of Athanasius in the middle, between the arrival and welcome by Athanasius and his consecration of Mark (see comm. on 61–68). The internal coherence of the passage is increased by the two references to Mark's vision at the beginning and end of Athanasius' meeting with Mark (58, 69, cf. 40), which serve to underline that both he and Isaiah are destined to become bishops, as well as the two occasions in which magistrates yield to the delegation from Philae, the first time at the behest of Athanasius (59), the second time at that of Mark (70–71), indicating the importance of the mission.

57. ἡΓΕΡῆΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΗΩΙΝΕ ἡΣΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΠΕΝΞΕ ΕΡΟQ ΜΠΕΞΟΥ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ Ζῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΟΥΞΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΦΜΕ ΜΠΕΣΦΑΞῆΤ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ 'When we entered the city, we looked for the patriarch, but we did not find him in the church that day, for he was a holy man who greatly loved solitude': σφααῖΤ is the equivalent of Greek ἡσυχία in its meaning particular to a monastic context, which can be translated with 'solitude', see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἡσυχία C 1b. Athanasius is thus characterized here not only as a saint but, just as the bishops of Philae, also as a monk-bishop who prefers solitude over worldly affairs (see Introduction, p. 59). This also appears from the next sentence, where it is said ΔΕ ΕΦΕCΥΧΑΖΕ ΜΜΟQ Ζῆ ΟΥΚΟQΙ ΜΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝCΑ ΠΕΜῆΤ ἡΓΠΟΛΙC 'that he had withdrawn to a small monastery west of the city'. For ἡσυχία as a central monastic concept, see e.g. A. Guillaumont, 'Perspectives actuelles sur les origines du monachisme', in T.T. Segerstedt (ed.), *The Frontiers of Human Knowledge. Lectures Held at the Quincentenary Celebrations of Uppsala University 1977* (Uppsala, 1978) 111–123 at 121–122 (repr. in idem, *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Pour une phénoménologie du monachisme* [Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1979] 215–227 at 225–226) and 'Esquisse d'une phénoménologie du monachisme', *Numen* 25 (1978) 40–51 at 48–49 (repr. in idem, *Aux origines du monachisme*, 228–239 at 236–237); Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 228–229; Malevez, 'Spiritual Reasoning', 31–34.

The person changes from third person plural (the ‘they’ of ἀγχοῦ at the end of 56) to first person plural (‘we’), with which the travel companions of the aspiring bishop are meant. They would have been identified in the lacuna before ἀγχοῦ, no doubt as the non-descript ‘brothers’ who accompany the bishops in 70–71 (Mark), 75 (Isaiah) and 82 (Psoulousia). The first person plural is maintained in most of the episode of Mark in Alexandria, though the narrative voice switches back to the third person in 71 and is even more instable in the stories of Isaiah and Psoulousia, which begin in the third person plural (Isaiah: 75–76; Psoulousia: 79–80), then suddenly shift to first person plural (Isaiah: 77, consisting only of one sentence; Psoulousia: 81). For this reason, and because the fellow travellers are not explicitly introduced as telling the story, we do not regard the use of the first person plural as indicating a shift in narrative level from secondary (Isaac’s story) to tertiary. Rather, it concerns a phenomenon that is called ‘anonymous focalization’ in narratological theory and is already attested in Homer: just like in a modern novel, where we can look through the eyes of ‘a man’, here we get the perspective of the anonymous ‘brothers’, an element that has been added—either originally or later in the tradition—to make the travel to and consecration of the new bishop in Alexandria livelier (De Jong, *Narratology & Classics*, 69). In what follows we shall not note each time in which the first person plural is used, as it does not mark the transition to a different narrative level, with the exception of 70 (comm. on ντερῆρ ... ἡμος), which requires some further explanation.

58. παρχηεπισκοπος δε ετουααβ απα α[θα]νασιος νεαυταμοϋ ριτῆ πεπν[(εϋμ)α ‘The holy archbishop, Apa Athanasius, had been informed by the Spirit’: just as Isaac and Macedonius, who know beforehand of the arrival of Paphnutius and Pseleusius (27), and Aristos (48), respectively, so Athanasius’ holiness appears from the fact that the Spirit has informed him about the impending visit of Mark and his companions.

αφοϋαϋβ̄ ἦσι πῤαγιος αἰθανασιος πεχαϋ ἡμαρκος χε ακρ πωβω, παϋηρε, ἡπναϋ νταϋτ̄ ριωωκ ντεωτην αϋω αϋσοολ̄ ἡτεποϋμικ; παι πε περσοϋ νταϋτοϋῃ̄ νακ, ὦ πεπρεσβϋτερος εἰῆροτ ‘Saint Athanasius answered him and said to Mark: “Have you forgotten, my son, the moment in which you were dressed with the tunic and covered with the stole? This is the day that has been destined for you, faithful priest!”’: in the preceding lacuna, Athanasius apparently blamed Mark for being so late in presenting himself. In answer to a question posed by Mark, Athanasius shows here that he has not only been informed about Mark’s arrival but also about the vision that he received in the desert (see comm. on 37–40), in particular that the man of light αϋτ̄ ριωωτ νοϋωτην αϋσοολ̄ νοϋεπωμικ ‘dressed me in a tunic and covered me with a stole’ (40; note the change in this passage to the definite



articles  $\tau\epsilon\omega\tau\eta\eta$  ‘the tunic’ ...  $\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\mu\iota\varsigma$  ‘the stole’, presupposing that Mark is familiar with said clothes), which predicts that he is destined to become a clergyman (see comm. on 40,  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\omicron\lambda\tau\ \nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$ ), now even to rise to the office of bishop. As is explained in the following sentence, only Isaiah and Macedonius had knowledge of this vision, so Athanasius’ bringing it up word for word is another indication of his holiness and personal involvement in the advancement of the see of Philae.

59.  $\nu\epsilon\gamma\mu\iota\tau$  for  $\nu\epsilon\mu\eta\iota\tau$ : *metathesis* involving  $\gamma$  is particularly common in Coptic, see Introduction, p. 33.

$\kappa\gamma\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\mu\omega\tau(\bar{\eta})\ \nu\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\ \nu\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\ \omega\alpha\ \gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\tau\eta\eta\ \nu\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\kappa\kappa\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon$ . ‘Take the trouble to withdraw until tomorrow morning, for there are brothers from the south with us’: in spite of their standing, Athanasius chooses to receive the brothers from the south first, thus deliberately prioritizing the see of Philae. When returning from Alexandria and waiting for a boat to bring them south in the harbour of Schissa, in 71 a group of magistrates again gives way to the delegation from Philae by allowing them to take the boat that they had claimed. See comm. on 71,  $\alpha\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$ . Here it is the newly consecrated Bishop Mark who kindly asks the magistrates to hand over the boat and they oblige.

$\kappa\gamma\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\mu\omega\tau(\bar{\eta})$  ‘take the trouble’: for  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  in this sense, see LSJ s.v.  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  3; Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$  2c; Förster, *WB* s.v.

$\pi\mu\omicron\eta\{\omicron\eta\}\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta\ \nu\alpha\pi\alpha\ \mu\eta\eta\alpha$  ‘the monastery of Apa Menas’: undoubtedly the pilgrimage centre of the famous martyr Apa Menas, situated 45 km south-west of Alexandria and the principal sanctuary of his cult in Egypt, is meant. On the saint, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 146–154; on the pilgrimage centre, P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d’Orient* (Paris, 1985) 319–322; P. Grossmann, ‘The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ’, in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 281–302. The relatively late development of the cult and its pilgrimage centre at Alexandria, which is only mentioned in texts from the sixth century onwards (Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 151), supports the dating of our work to not before this century (see Introduction, pp. 58–59).

60.  $\pi\epsilon\gamma\gamma\phi\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$  ‘the nomination’: the Greek term  $\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$  normally refers to a ‘proposal’, ‘decree’ (LSJ s.v.) or ‘decision’ (Förster, *WB* s.v., which lists some other variations in spelling). Here it is a technical term for the document in which the candidate who has been elected by the congregation is officially nominated as the new bishop, see Wipszycka, ‘Élections épiscopales’, 261, 264, and *Alexandrian Church*, 131–133. We have therefore translated the term, which is spelled  $\gamma\iota\varsigma\phi\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$  in 75 and 76 and again  $\gamma\gamma\phi\iota\varsigma\mu\alpha$  in 76 and 79, with ‘nomination’ (in 76, with the addition of  $\nu\tau\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , ‘episcopal nomination’).

The word is also mentioned in the *Dialogus Cyrilli cum Anthimo et Stephano diaconis* (CPG 5277), contained in a sixth/seventh-century papyrus codex, in which Bishop Cyril of Alexandria answers a question about how he weighs his decision during an episcopal election (ed. Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 8–9, on which see Wipszycka, 'Élections épiscopales', 262, and *Alexandrian Church*, 130).

†ΡΑΩΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ ΕΧΝ̄ ΝΕCΟΟΥ ΕΤCΟΡΗ̄ ΕΤΖΗ̄ ΤΕΤΗ̄ΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΠΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ ΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'I am extremely happy about the lost sheep in your city whom God, the lover of mankind, has turned to repentance!': refers to the conversion of Philae from a predominantly pagan to a Christian city.

ΜΑΓΕ[ΔΩΝΙΟC: as elsewhere ρ for κ. See e.g. comm. on 107, ΓΔΙ.

ΑΝΚΩΤ ΕΧΩC. ΩΝΤΩC ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΠΕΤΗ̄ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΚΩ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΤCΗ̄ΤΕ {ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΚΩΤ ΩΑΝΤΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤCΗ̄ΤΕ} ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΚΩΤ ΩΑΝ-ΤΕΥΧΩΚC ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩ̄† ΠΛΩΒΩ̄ '... and we built upon it. Truly, my sons, for not only did your holy father lay the foundation, but he built until he finished it up to its gable': the scribe mistakenly wrote 'but he built until he finished the foundation', a word that needed no repetition, and then started the phrase again, 'but he built until he finished it'; the phrase in between can therefore be deleted (Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 227). Athanasius refers here to 1 Cor. 3:10, especially the part where Paul uses a metaphor to describe how he founded the early Christian community at Corinth: ΖΩC CΟΦΟC ΝΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΩ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΤCΗ̄ΤΕ. ΟΥΝ CΕ ΔΕ ΚΩΤ ΕΧΩC 'like a skilled master builder I laid the foundation and someone else builds upon it'. Here Macedonius is the master builder, who no doubt is said to have 'laid the foundation' for the Christian community of Philae in the lacuna preceding 'and we built upon it'. What is more, says the archbishop, in clear emulation of Paul Macedonius not only laid the foundation for the community but he even completed the entire building from top to bottom.

ΝΩ̄† ΠΛΩΒΩ̄: literally means 'and he gave it the gable', and is rendered in our translation as 'up to its gable'. The same phrase is found in *Homily of Severus of Antioch on Michael the Archangel* (CPG 7043), fol. 33b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 177), where it refers to a church. ΠΛΩΒΩ̄ denotes the upper part of a house (Crum, *Dict.* 138a) and is translated here somewhat anachronistically with 'gable'.

61–68. The centerpiece of the Alexandria episode is Athanasius' elaborate rhetorical exposition to Mark about why he should be open to helping the people of the Nubians. After some instruction by Athanasius, Mark asks him about a problem that he is facing: whether he should give bread to the poor Nubians in his region, despite the fact that they are pagan (61). Athanasius' answer, a resounding 'yes', starts with four quotations from the Bible, which all argue for inclusion of gentiles and, by extension, pagans (62–63). Athanas-

ius then tells a story of a dispute between two monks that embodies Mark's dilemma (64–67). One of the monks blames the other for performing his ascetic practices too openly. They cannot agree on the matter and therefore go to a third monk, Apa Aphou, to settle the dispute. He answers by telling, in turn, a story of two men living together, one of whom plants a little seed despite the drought (66). Just as the one who sows a little will survive, so it will be with the monk who is performing his ascetic practices in public, for even if his practice may be questionable he has at least acted with good intentions. In the same way, it is better for Mark to show heart and give to the Nubians than to do nothing (68).

61. ΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΕΘΝΟC ΝCΑ ΠΕΙΕΒΤ̄ ΜΜΟΝ ΔΥΩ Ζῆ ΠΕΜΝΤ ΜΠΡΗC ΝΤῆΠΟΛΙC ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΥΒΑ ‘There lives a people to the east and south-west of our city that is called Nubians’: on the Nubians, see comm. on 44, ΖΕΝΔΝΟΥΒΑ. Interestingly, they are situated here to the east and south-west of Philae. Cf. the remark by John of Ephesus, *Church History* 3.4.6 (ed. Brooks, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, 183), writing in the late sixth century, that the Noubades ‘dwelt on the eastern frontier (area) of the Thebaid’.

62. Athanasius starts his exposition by a series of three biblical quotes, which all advocate for the inclusion of the nations/gentiles (in which it should be remarked that the word ΖΕΘΝΟC can mean both ‘people/nation’ and ‘gentile’, and that the distinction Jew vs. gentile in the New Testament is seen at the time of writing of the *Life of Aaron* as equivalent to that of Christian vs. ‘pagan’, the third meaning of the word, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.): in the first quote (Rom. 3:29–30), God is said to be the God not only of Jews but also of gentiles; the second quote refers to Abraham as the ancestor of all nations (Gen. 17:5), which is, however, quoted by Paul (Rom. 4:17) as concerning both Jews and gentiles; and in the third quote, God shows Peter in a vision not to avoid gentiles (Acts 10:28)—after which he baptizes the gentile Cornelius and the people who are with him. Of these three, the most significant for Athanasius’ speech—and worked out the most as it summarizes Acts 10 as a whole—is the last quote, since it also implies that when gentiles (or, in the case of the Nubians, pagans) are accepted, there is the real potential of their conversion (see also next entry), which is a point that Athanasius makes at the end of his speech about the Nubians (68, with comm. on ΕΤΒΕ ... ΝΖΗΤῆ).

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΠΕΧΔQ ΝΚΟΡΝΙΛΙΟC Ζῆ ΝΕΠΡΑΖΙC ΧΕ ΟΥΖΕΘΝΟC ΠΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤῆΝΟΟΥ ΦΑΡΟQ ΜΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΝΟC ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC, ΔΦΒΑΠΤΖΕ ΜΜΟQ ΕΔΥΤΟΥΝΟ ΕΙΔΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΕΤῆΕΠ ΛΑΔΥ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ QΧΑΖῆ Η ΧΕ ΟΥΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΠΕ ‘And he also spoke to Cornelius in Acts—for he was a gentile. Because God is one, he sent Peter, the great apostle, to him and he

baptized him after he had shown him through the vision “not to consider anyone as impure or unclean”’: summarizes the story of the conversion of Cornelius, a gentile from Caesarea, in Acts 10. The centurion receives a vision in which an angel instructs him to send for Peter. As his messengers are under way to Joppa, Peter himself sees a vision in which all sorts of animals that can normally not be eaten by a Jew are lowered from the sky. A voice urges him to eat them but he refuses, after which the voice says: ‘What God has made clean, you must not call profane’ (Acts 10:15, trans. NRSV). Not knowing what to make of the vision, the messengers from Caesarea arrive and the Spirit encourages Peter to go with them to Cornelius. When he meets Cornelius, Peter realizes that the vision means that he should not refrain from associating with gentiles. He then instructs the people gathered and baptizes them. In line with the series of quotes underlining that gentiles should not be excluded (see introduction to 62), the paraphrase ends with a direct quote of the most salient part, ἐτῆεν λαλῶν ἡρώδε καὶ κλαυδίου πε ‘not to consider anyone as unclean or impure’ (with two small changes: the addition of καὶ after ἡ and οὐκαὶ κλαυδίου instead of οὐκαὶ κλαυδίου).

63. After three citations illustrating that Mark should be accommodating to the Nubians, Athanasius adds a further example, the story of Jesus and the Canaanite woman in Matt. 15:21–28 (cf. Mark 7:24–30). The woman cries after Jesus that her daughter is possessed by a demon. At first he is reluctant to help her as she is a gentile woman. When she confronts him, he employs the metaphor of the bread, which is primarily intended for the children, not the dogs. However, the woman counters that the dogs also have a right to the food, even if it consists only of leftovers. Jesus then praises her faith and heals the girl. Athanasius here cites the three most crucial verses (Matt. 15:26–28) one by one, while he introduces each and even adds his comments to the last two, thus explaining the verses to Mark. Not only does this exposition complement the previous quotes that one should be open to gentiles (or, in the present context, pagans), the food metaphor is also directly relevant for the actual dilemma which Mark finds himself in. Just as Jesus at first denies it to the gentile woman and then grants it to her, so Mark must not refuse bread to the Nubians. As with the story of the gentile Cornelius, there is also the prospect that, like the Canaanite woman, the Nubians may show ‘great faith’ as a result.

ἐτρεψίληροφωρεῖ ἡμῶς ‘in order to be convinced’: for πληροφορέω in this meaning, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. πληροφορέω 5; Förster, *WB* s.v. πληροφορέω 2.

αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ αἰ[σῖνι· αἰτῶν ἐκείνῳ] ἀγοῶν καὶ ἴδωκα· ἴδωκα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔκλεινεν ἡ πόρτα· ἴδωκα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔκλεινεν ἡ πόρτα: Mark’s positive reaction

to Athanasius' battery of biblical quotations picks up on the patriarch's opening quotation from Matt. 7:7 in 62 by changing all verbs into past affirmative (first perfect).

ἡκεογχορ 'even the dogs': the manuscript has ἡκεογοχορ, turning round the ς and ο.

νεσριριϥε 'the crumbs': the manuscript has νεσριριϥε. For the spelling ϣριριϥε, see Kasser, *Compléments* 56b. The intrusive second c is either due to a reading error (ϣ for ϣ) or the influence of preceding νεσ-.

ἡτεσαπολογία 'her reply': see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἀπολογία 4.

ογ: read ω, see comm. on 8, ογ ... πσελεγσι[οc].

ετβε πειωαχε μιματε 'because of this word alone': cf. Mark (the evangelist)'s version of the story, in which Jesus answers to the Canaanite woman's riposte with the words ετβε πειωαχε βοκ 'Because of this word, go' (Mark 7:29).

64–67. As is clear from 66 (see comm. on A: αϣ]ογωϣβ ... εβολ), the parable that Athanasius tells to Mark is about two quarreling monks, one of whom blames the other one (the word α]ρικε has been preserved between the two lacunae at the beginning of 64 in which the story would have been introduced) for leading his ascetic life too much in the open. Within this story, which is narrated on the tertiary level, another story is embedded that is told on the quaternary level by a third monk, Apa Aphou, to instruct the quarrelling monks and settle their dispute (66).

64. ςἡ νεϣκαθολικον 'in his catholic letter': for the term καθολικός used for the 'general letters' in the New Testament, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. καθολικός 5; Förster, *WB* s.v. The plural can be explained because the word to be supplemented, ϣραι, like Greek γράμμα, can be used in the sense of 'letter' in both singular and plural. Cf. 77, νεϣραι μπαρχνεπισκοπος 'the letter of the archbishop'; 89, ςενϣραι ενα πῖρο νε 'an imperial letter'.

ςἡτῷ μπχ(οει)ς 'the Lord': to ςἡτῷ 'him' at the end of the quote from Ps. 21:26 (ed. A. Rahlfs, *Die Berliner Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters* [Berlin, 1901] 67), the clarification μπχ(οει)ς 'the Lord' has been added.

A: ]εν . . [πληροφο]ρι μῃον [εβ]ολ ς[ν] νεϣ[ραϣ]ἡ ετβε πεωληλ '[...] provide us proof from the Scriptures about prayer'.

B: σεπληροφορει μῃον εβολ ςἡ νεϣραϣἡ ςἡ ςαρ μιμα ετβε πεωληλ 'in the Scriptures we are taught about prayer in many places'.

σεπληροφορει μῃον literally means 'we are convinced' (see comm. on 63, ετρεϣπληροφορει μῃοκ), translated here as 'we are taught'. From this phrase, the text of our tenth-century manuscript (= ms. B) overlaps for a couple of lines with the earlier witness Or. 7558 v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. i), which also has the verb [πληροφο]ρι though the traces that precede seem different from the later

manuscript. Moreover, B seems to add the specification  $\text{ⲉⲛ ⲉⲗⲁ ⲙⲙⲁ}$  ‘in many places’ to  $\text{ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲁⲫⲏ}$  ‘in the Scriptures’. However, since we do not know what is happening before  $\text{[ⲡⲗⲏⲣⲟⲫⲟ]ⲣⲓ}$  in A, it cannot be excluded that a similar phrase was originally found in the earlier manuscript.

65. A:  $\text{ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ [ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ, ⲃ]ⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟϣⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲕ[ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲱ]ⲧⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ [ⲛⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲕ]ⲉⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ[ⲡⲓ ⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲱⲧ ⲉⲧ[ⲥ]ⲱⲱⲧ [ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϣⲛⲁⲧⲱⲱⲉ] ⲛⲁⲕ}$  ‘But when you are going to pray, go into your room, close your door and pray to your father who is in secret. And your father who sees you will reward you’.

B:  $\text{ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ, ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟϣ(ⲛ) ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲱⲧⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲉⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲡⲉ{ⲧ}ⲟⲛⲡⲓ ⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲡⲉ{ⲧ}ⲟⲛⲡⲓ ϣⲛⲁⲧⲱⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ}$  ‘When you are going to pray, go into your room, close your door and pray to your father who is in secret. And your father who sees you in secret will reward you’.

When we compare both quotations from Matt. 6:6, we can see that A remains fairly close to the standard New Testament text, though if our reconstruction is correct the scribe—or his *Vorlage*—has mistakenly left out the second  $\text{ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲡⲓ}$  ‘in secret’. B, on the other hand, omits initial  $\text{ⲁⲉ}$ , which in the present context is not required (besides, as appears from Horner’s apparatus, some biblical manuscripts also omit  $\text{ⲁⲉ}$ ) and adds  $\text{ⲉⲣⲟⲕ}$  after  $\text{ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ}$  for liveliness (while absent from the apparatus of Horner and Aranda Pérez, the addition of the first  $\text{ⲉⲣⲟⲕ}$  can also be found in H.-M. Schenke, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen* [Codex Scheide] [Berlin, 1981] 64).

A:  $\text{[ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ / B: ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ]}$  the  $\text{ⲛ}$  (in B) contains a superfluous curve on the left vertical; the scribe started writing the  $\text{ⲱ}$  of  $\text{ⲱⲗⲏⲗ}$  and corrected it halfway to a  $\text{ⲛ}$ .

$\text{ⲁⲡⲁⲫⲟϣ ⲡⲕⲱⲉⲧⲓ}$  ‘Ara Aphou the Fire’: is the only ascetic in this work who is, as far as we know, unconnected to the Aswan region. The holy man is invoked in two litanies of saints and another inscription on the walls of the Esna hermitages (ed. S. Sauneron, J. Jacquet, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d’Esna*, vol. 1 [Cairo, 1972] 92 [no. 29.8], 95 [no. 38.2], 110 [no. 89.16]; discussion in vol. 4, p. 56 [no. 6], with an incorrect reference, followed by M. Choat, ‘Narratives of Monastic Genealogy in Coptic Inscriptions’, *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1 [2015] 403–430 at 417, to the *Life of Paul of Tamma*, ed. É.C. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l’histoire de l’Égypte chrétienne aux IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 2 [Cairo, 1895] 762, which concerns another Aphou; he can also not be identified with Aphou, a monk and bishop of Oxyrhynchus at the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century, see discussion by Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 58–59, and, in general, on this saint T. Orlandi, ‘Aphu’, in *Copt.Enc.* 1 [1991] 154–155).

In addition, Crum, *Dict.* 134a, who refers to this passage in our work, mentions a graffito with the same name from Abydos, which apparently remains unpublished. Moreover, a Coptic funerary stela, reproduced in the unpublished MA thesis of Ahmad Mustafa Abd-al-Aziz (University of Asyut, 2014) 261 (Pl. 2; ca. sixth-eighth century), shows that there was a community of Apa Aphou the Fire (ll. 11–13: ἀπα ἀφοῦ πκωστ μν νεφωηρε, our reading) near Antinoopolis. We thank Ibrahim Saweros for this reference. Little else is known about this saint and it is unclear where he came from. In our text Athanasius seems to specify the monastic community to which Apa Aphou belonged in 64, but unfortunately its name is lost in the lacuna (ἡνεκειοτε μονοχοc και ετωοοι ρῆ ντ[ 'our fathers the monks who lived in the [...]').

μεγαρισκε νλααγ ἡρωμε ρῆ πετcμοντ: literally 'he did not please anyone concerning what was right', hence our translation 'he did not give in to anyone on matters of principle'. For the spelling αρισκε, see Förster, *WB* s.v. ἀρέσκω.

66. αγω αγωγτε ερογν κατa πκανων ἡνεcνηγ 'And they announced themselves according to the rule of the brothers': a parallel for this phrase is found e.g. in the *Life of Pesynthius*, fol. 25b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 80), αγωγτε ερογν κατa πκανων ἡνεcνηγ 'he announced himself according to the rule of the brothers', where a monk visits Pesynthius and standing by the door of his cell calls out 'bless me'; when he has repeated this request to no avail he enters the cell—and encounters Pesynthius and the Prophet Isaiah, who both give the monk a blessing. See also *Life of Cyrus*, fol. 24a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 129), αγωγτε ερογν κατa πκανων ἡνεcνηγ μονοχοc 'I announced myself according to the rule of the monastic brothers'. For κανων in the sense of '(monastic) rule', see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. κανων D 2 and D.W. Young, "Precept": A Study in Coptic Terminology', *Or.* 38 (1969) 505–519 at 506–507, in this case, as explained in *Life of Pesynthius*, fol. 26b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 80), the rule that one cannot enter a cell αχн μογμω 'without permission (?)' (the older manuscript Q has αχн ωινε 'unasked'). For μογτε ερογн 'announce oneself', see Crum, *Dict.* 192b.

επεcτοπος '(to) his cell': though the word τόπος can have many meanings (e.g. É. Bernand, 'Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *ZPE* 98 [1993] 103–110 for the Graeco-Roman period, and Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 267–270 on its use for churches and monasteries), it here designates the place where a monk resides, i.e. his cell, just as Coptic μα, see Crum, *Dict.* 153a.

απογα δε ἡρητογ χωρῆ επκεογα χε ωαχε 'One of them signalled the other one to speak': cf. the similar words used in 40, πноc δε ετῆμα[γ] αqχωρῆ ογβε πκογῆ [χε] ωαχε 'That elder one signalled the younger one to speak', where the sons of the temple priest start telling their adventures





ΤΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ‘the inundation’: for the annual Nile inundation, ἀνάβασις in Greek, see in general e.g. Bonneau, *Crue du Nil*.

ΝΕΠΟΥΕΙΗ: ‘(tilled) land’, see Crum, *Dict.* 81b.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ‘therefore’: the scribe interchanged ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ with the common phrase ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ‘for, since’, which does not make sense here. As a result, we have adjusted our text.

67. ΑΚΚΡΙΝΕ ΖἸ ΟΥΓΟΟΥΤῼ ‘You have judged correctly’: same words as in Luke 7:43, at the end of the story with which Jesus rebukes Simon the Pharisee regarding the sinful woman who washes and anoints his feet.

68. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΗΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΒΙΛΒΙΛΕ ΖἸ ΠΕCΜΑΖ· ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑQΧΟΟC ΝΕΙ ΗCΑΙΔC ΧΕ ΜΠῚ ΤΑΚΟQ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥCΜΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΖΗΤῼ ‘That is why I have said all these things to you, for I found them to be like a grape in the cluster, as Isaiah said, “Do not destroy it, for there is a blessing of the Lord in it”’: the manuscript has ΔΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΒΙΛΒΙΛΕ ΖἸ ΠΕCΜΑΖ ‘I found *you* to be like a grape in the cluster’, which compares Mark to the cluster containing a (good) grape that is not to be destroyed. However, probably the scribe has unwittingly repeated preceding ΕΡΟΚ, as the context of the Isaiah quotation makes it absolutely clear that the metaphor should refer to the people of the Nubians. In Isa. 65:1–7 God mentions the transgressions of the people of Israel against him. But not all is lost: just like a cluster of grapes, which though mostly looking bad may still contain some good grapes and should not be discarded altogether, in the same way God will not destroy his entire people but will keep the door open for those who seek him (Isa. 65:8). The quotation thus means that even if the Nubians are pagan, they still have a chance to be saved, which not only perfectly summarizes the point that Athanasius has been making throughout his speech, that Mark should not reject them, but also supports his statement in the previous sentence that, if Mark will put his efforts into it, they will eventually convert to Christianity. Accordingly, as noted in Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 331 (n. 119), we have changed ΕΡΟΚ ‘you’ into ΕΡΟQ ‘it’ (translated as ‘them’), thereby referring back to ΠΖΘΝΟC ΕΤῼΜΑΥ ‘that people’. The first part of the clause after ΧΕ adjusts ΝΘΕ ΕΩΔΥΖΕ ΕΤΒΛΒΙΛΕ ΖΡΑΙ ΖἸ ΠΕCΜΑΖ ‘as the grape is found in the cluster’ of Isa. 65:8 to the context, while the second part contains a fairly literal citation of what follows, changing the construction from ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤQ into ΟΥΝ ... ΝΖΗΤQ (ed. J. Schleifer, ‘Sahidische Bibel-Fragmente aus dem British Museum zu London’, *SAWW* 162 [1909], no. 6, 18–19). This verse is often quoted in Coptic literature; among examples, Crum, *Dict.* 37b mentions our text and e.g. Crum, *Theological Texts*, 41 (no. 9, fol. 4a), a homily attributed to Gregory Nazianzen (*CPG* 3113.1; the manuscript is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, see Depuydt, *Catalogue* 1, 138–139 [no. 68]), which similarly states ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΗΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΥΒΛΒΙΛΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖἸ ΠΕCΜΑΖ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ

πε οὐμερος μετὰ νοία 'thus it is with him in whose cluster a single grape will be found, that is to say, a portion of repentance'.

69. τεπροσφορά 'the Eucharist': the word can mean 'offering, sacrifice', but refers here specifically to the Eucharist (Lampe, *PGL* s.v. προσφορά 3f), which is usually celebrated at the end of the consecration ceremony of the new bishop, see Wipszycka, 'Élections épiscopales', 264, and *Alexandrian Church*, 133.

αφωκ [επ]μα ενεφνηγит 'he went to the place where he stayed': this refers to πτοπος ετῳνηг 'the place where he stayed', a monastery to the west of the city where Mark and his companions found the archbishop in 57.

тсγста(т)кн нтмнтепископос 'the letter of episcopal appointment': the term συστατική (sc. ἐπιστολή) is used in Christian circles for a letter of recommendation, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. συστατικός 3. Here it denotes the official document that the delegation receives from the bishop of Alexandria after the consecration of the candidate, which is to be read to the congregation upon return to the see, see Wipszycka, 'Élections épiscopales', 264, and *Alexandrian Church*, 133. For тмнтепископос 'the episcopate', see Förster, *WB* s.v. ἐπίσκοπος 2. Hence we have translated тсγστατική, which is spelled in our text as тсγс-такн (69) and тсγстаδικн (72, 81; it also appears in a lacuna at 76), together with нтмнтепископос as 'letter of episcopal appointment'.

нтернр пвол мпро агтнноог мпдиаконос ѡа апα μαρκος πεπισκοπος аqхитῳ ερογн ѡароq 'When we went out the door, he sent the deacon to Bishop Apa Mark and he brought him to him': as the delegation is about to leave, Athanasius takes the freshly appointed bishop aside and in what follows urges him to ordain his brother Isaiah into the priesthood as soon as he has returned home. As in 58 (see comm. on аqоγωωβ ... εтнзог), the archbishop refers to Mark's vision, this time to remind him that, just as he was dressed in the tunic and covered with the stole, Isaiah received the same garments (again written with the definite article to show Mark's familiarity with them) and is just as destined to a successful ecclesiastical career. Moreover, he recalls that both he and Isaiah were placed into the lap of Macedonius, the second element of the vision (see comm. on 37–40). As a result, he predicts that after Mark has died his brother will climb to the same rank and succeed him to the episcopal throne. Athanasius' references to Mark's dream in 58 and here thus nicely complement each other: in the first passage the patriarch focuses on what Mark saw about his own destiny as a clergyman, while the second includes the whole vision to make the point that Isaiah is as privileged.

A: та[λε бix εχм пексон нqор]рп нг[аq мпресв]γтерос 'consecrate your brother first and make him priest'.

B: таλε бix εχм пексон нqорп нгпoωнeч ндиаконос, мннсoс мпрес-вγтерос 'consecrate your brother and ordain him first deacon, then priest'.

This is the only place of overlap between our earlier manuscript Or. 7558 (93) r<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iii) and the later one (= B) where we know for certain that the scribe of B (or his *Vorlage*) introduced a secondary addition to the text and B is inferior. In A, ΝΘΟ]ΡΠ̄ ‘first’ is used to show the urgency of the ordination of Isaiah as priest: this is the first thing that Mark should do upon his return (just like Psoulousia’s urgency to go to his cell after returning from Alexandria is underlined by ΝΘΟΡΠ̄ in 82). The scribe of B or his *Vorlage* was apparently put off by the word and, erroneously thinking that Isaiah had no clerical status, turned the verb ΝΓ̄Α[Αϣ ‘and make him’ into the more precise ΝΓ̄ΠΟΘΝΕϣ ‘and ordain him’, added ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC and let ΝΘΟ]ΡΠ̄ ‘first’ correspond with Μ̄ΝΝ-ϞΩC ‘afterwards’, so that the sentence was completely altered and now reflected Isaiah’s appointment first as deacon and then priest. However, the textual engineering goes against the internal logic of the text as Isaiah had already been made deacon by Macedonius in 43 and held the same title shortly before the miracle of the camel’s leg in 46, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 238 (n. 58); cf. p. 237 (n. 55).

A: ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΩ[ΜΙΑ / B: ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ‘a dispensation’: see comm. on 33, ΕΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ.

A: ΕΚΟΥ]Νῒ / B: ΕΚΟΥΩΝῒ ‘his lap’: the form ΚΟΥΩΝ in B seems to be a dialectal variant, see Introduction, pp. 33–34.

A: [ΕΚΟΥΝϣ] / B: ΕΚΟΥΝῒ: B actually has ΕΚΟΥΝῒ, which has been corrected in our text to ΕΚΟΥΝῒ. Accordingly, we have reconstructed this form in the lacuna of A.

Μ̄ΝΝCΑ ΤΡῒΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ‘after your perfection (in death)’: see comm. on 15, ΩΔ ... ΕΒΟΛ.

70. ΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ‘we went to Alexandria’: as is made clear in the opening scene of the visit of the delegation to Alexandria, the archbishop is staying in a monastery on the west side of the city and they travel there to meet him (57). Hence, after a three days’ stay with him (69) they first need to go back to Alexandria in order to travel on to the south.

ΕΥΝΑ ΕΩΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟϣ ΧΕ CΧΙCΑ ‘a place called Schissa’: having embarked on a small boat at Alexandria, the delegation arrives at Schissa, which is evidently a harbour where they have to transfer to a larger boat that will carry them to Philae (cf. 80, where the delegation, travelling in the opposite direction, transfers to a small boat). The toponym Schissa is, besides our text, attested in the *Historia Horsiesii*, preserved in a sixth/seventh-century papyrus codex, in which Bishop Theophilus goes out to meet the Abbot Horsiesius, who is travelling downstream by boat, at ΤΑ CΧΙCΑ (ed. Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 13; for more on this passage, which has been used for 83–84, see comm. ad loc.). Another attestation may be found in *Panegyric on Macarius of Tkow* 1.9 (ed. Johnson,

*Panegyric on Macarius* 1, 4), where the editor plausibly emends ΜΜΑ ΝΕΧΙCΜΑ to ΜΜΑ ΝΕΧΙCΑ, the place near Alexandria from which all bishops, except Macarius, are sailed back to their sees instead of accompanying Dioscorus to Constantinople. The toponym re-occurs in later Arabic sources as *Kisa*, which was located at a place where the Nile branched off into two waterways, thus explaining the Greek name ('[the] Separations', from σχίζω). See Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 66 (n. 5); Timm 5.2323–2324. There is no reason to identify the site with Schedia, as assumed by Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 106 (n. 46); Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 259.

ΕΑΝΤΗΝΟΥ ΤΠ'Ο'ΛΙC 'to Antinoopolis'. For a first orientation of the sources concerning this city in the Late Antique period, see Timm 1.111–128.

ΝΤΕΡΝΡ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΜΗ ΝΕCΗΗ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΕΥΧΩ ΜΗΟC 'After we spent a few days in that place with the brothers and the bishop, while they said': this formulation is slightly odd, as we expect the 'we' to be 'the brothers', that is, Mark's travel companions (see comm. on 57, ΝΤΕΡΝΒΩΚ ... ΕΜΑΔΤΕ). Perhaps the formulation can be explained because 'the brothers' here become actors in the story ('they'), using the first person plural in direct speech, and the author (or a scribe) felt that a distinction with the 'we' through whose eyes we have seen the Alexandrian episode so far was in place. The same distinction is found in 71, where we first hear of ΕΤΕΝΠΟΛΙC 'our city' (the manuscript has ΕΤΕΡΠΟΛΙC but it needs to be corrected, see comm. on 71, A: ΕΤΕ . [ΠΟΛΙC / B: ΕΤΕΝΠΟΛΙC) and when 'the brothers', who are introduced as ΝΕCΗΗ ΕΤΜΟΟΥΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC 'the brothers who accompanied the bishop', become involved in the story they are described as 'they'. The narrative definitively switches to third person narrative at the end of the Schissa scene in 71 with the sentence ΔΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΡ[ΗC] ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC Ν[ΕΙΡΗΝΗ 'and thus they went south in great peace'.

71. A: CΟΥΑΔΑΝ / B: CΟΥΑΝ: in the fourth fragment of our earlier witness Or. 7558 (93) v<sup>o</sup> (= ms. A, fr. iv), we encounter the rare spelling CΟΥΑΔΑΝ, which is otherwise only found in an inscription from tomb 34f at Qubbet el-Hawa, on the west bank of the Nile at Aswan, dating to January 1173 (T.S. Richter in E. Edel, *Die Felsengräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, ed. K.-J. Seyfried and G. Vieler [Munich, 2008] 515 [line 8]: [C]ΟΥΑΔΑΝ). Even if B spells Aswan with one α throughout the manuscript, vowel doubling is a common phenomenon in southern Upper Egypt (see Introduction, p. 30), which has otherwise also left its traces in B, and the form with double α in A can thus be explained, just as ΕΚΟΥΩΝΩ in 69 (see comm. ad loc.), due to dialectal influence.

A: ΕΤΕ . [ΠΟΛΙC / B: ΕΤΕΝΠΟΛΙC: the papyrus is too damaged as this point to say whether A has ΕΤΕΥ[ΠΟΛΙC as in B or the expected form, as reconstructed in our text, ΕΤΕΝ[ΠΟΛΙC.

ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΑΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΦΑΓΕΙΝ ΕΖΗΤ ΩΑ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ [ΕΦΑΓΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΕ-]  
 ]ΠΡΙΧ, [ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΣΧΙΣΣΑ] 'It had carried its cargo north to the city called  
 Neprij, that is, Schissa': according to the logic of the story, the boat from Aswan  
 docks at the same harbour as the one where Mark and his companions are  
 waiting and so Neprij should be the same place as Schissa. We have therefore  
 taken—with due hesitation—the otherwise unattested ΝΕΠΡΙΧ or ΠΡΙΧ (from  
 the root ΠΡΧ 'to separate') as a Coptic translation of the toponym Schissa (see  
 comm. on 70, ΕΥΜΑ ... ΣΧΙΣΣΑ), and reconstructed the lacunae accordingly.

ΤΕΤΝΑΩΤΑΛΟΝ ΝΪΜΗΤΪ ΕΤΕΤΪΒΗΚ ΕΡΗΣ; 'Will you not be able to take us on  
 board with you, when you are on your way to the south?': seeing that the boat is  
 already packed with the magistrates, their families and belongings, the brother  
 asks whether the captain can at least take them on after he has dropped off the  
 magistrates and returned to go back south.

ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΤΩΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ Η [Ν]ΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΪΩΒ; ΑΦΑΡΧΕΙ Ν[ΩΑΔΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ  
 ΕΦΧΩ Μ]ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΝ[ΕΙ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΝΕΠΙΣΚΟ]ΠΙΟΣ: literally, the first sen-  
 tence means 'To which place have you come here and for what purpose?'. The  
 answer is found in the brother's reply, 'we have come to Alexandria' (= answer  
 to the first question) 'because of our bishop' (= answer to the second question).  
 We have therefore rendered the first sentence as 'On your way to which destina-  
 tion have you come here and for what business?'. After having asked the brother  
 where he comes from, the captain here thus asks for the goal and purpose of  
 his party's trip.

ΑΦΤΑΥΟ: the manuscript has ΝΤΑΥΟ, a reading error.

ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΪΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΡΕΥΚΑ ΠΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΪΖΗΚΕ ΝΣΕΤΑΛΟΦ ΕΡΗΣ 'He  
 asked the magistrates to release the boat to the poor, so that they could board  
 it (to go) south': implicit behind this statement is that the magistrates laid claim  
 to the boat not only because of their standing but also due to their wealth,  
 which would have made the captain all the more inclined to take them. The  
 bishop now asks them to give it up to 'the poor', that is, his own humble group  
 of travellers. For the earlier case of Athanasius preferring to receive the deleg-  
 ation over a group of magistrates, see comm. on 59 ΣΚΥΛΛΕΙ ... ΝΕ.

ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΡ[ΗΣ] ΖΪ ΟΥΝΟΣ Ν[ΕΙΡΗΝΗ] 'And thus they went south  
 in great peace': the 'they' are not the magistrates, but the delegation which now  
 has a boat to take them to the south, in fulfilment of Mark's prediction at the  
 end of 70 that an opportunity will present itself and ΝΤΪΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΝΗ ΖΪ ΟΥΕΙ-  
 ΡΗΝΗ 'we shall go to our homes in peace'.

[ΖΙΤΝ ΤΒΟ]ΗΘΙΑ ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΤΗΥ ΣΩΚ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΪ ΚΟΤΪ ΝΙΜ ΩΑΝ-  
 ΤΟΥΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ 'With the help of Christ, the wind wafted them  
 through all the bends (of the river) until they reached their city': blessed by the  
 God-sent opportunity, the delegation enjoys smooth sailing. The manuscript

has ΜΜΟΝ ‘us’, which is inconsistent with the third-person narrative that started in 70 (see comm. on ΝΤΕΡΝΡ ... ΜΜΟC) and continues in the same sentence with ΩΑΝΤΟΥΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΕΥΠΟΛΙC ‘until they reached their city’. For consistency we have changed it into ΜΜΟΥ.

72. ΑΥΤΩΩ ΔΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕΤΑΛΟΦ ΝCΕΧΙΤῚ ΕΤΕΥΠΟΛΙC ‘They ordered animals for him so that they could mount him and take him to his city’: this is a realistic way of describing how people arriving in the south would travel the last leg to Philae, for at Aswan, the start of the Cataract, people had to disembark and take the ancient road connecting Aswan with Philae (see comm. on 99, ΝΤΕΡΙΒΩΚ ... ΕCΟΥΑΝ). The companions show their kindness to the new bishop by ordering animals to carry him along the road.

ΤCΥCΤΑΔΙΚΗ ΝΤΜῚΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ‘the letter of episcopal appointment’: see comm. on 69, ΤCΥCΤΑ(ΤΙ)ΚΗ ΝΤΜῚΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC.

ΑΦΧΙΤῚ ΝCΙ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟC ΕΠΔΑΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ ΔΕ CΕΩΟΠ ΝCΙ ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC, ΑΦΩΦῚ ΕΠΔΑΟC ‘The deacon who had said to the people about him, “The heirs are present”, took it and read it to the people’: the deacon is actually the archdeacon, who in 56 had said ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ CΕΩΟΠ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝCΙ ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ‘Look, the heirs are present’, therewith drawing the attention to Mark and Isaiah, the ‘sons’ of Macedonius. This deacon now has the honour of reading the CΥCΤΑΤΙΚΗ to the congregation, as we know was indeed the custom, Wipszycka, ‘Élections épiscopales’, 264, and *Alexandrian Church*, 133.

ΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟ[ΡΑ] ‘the Eucharist’: see comm. on 69, ΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ.

ΑΦCΥΝΑΓΕ: φ written over half-finished γ.

ΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ‘while he kept all the commandments of his holy father Bishop Apa Macedonius’: thus heeding Athanasius’ advice in 60, ΝΤΩΤῚ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΤΤΗΥΤῚ ΠΩΤῚ ΠΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΦΖΟΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΗΥΤῚ ‘Now it is up to you to adhere to what he (Macedonius) has commanded you’.

73. The scene of Mark coming over from the Valley to Philae to perform the sacrament at a major festival at the explicit request of the people highlights not only Mark’s portrayal as a monk-bishop (Introduction, p. 59) who prefers to stay in a secluded place but also provides a good setting for fulfilling the desire that Athanasius had expressed to him in private in 69 to make Isaiah priest.

ΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ‘the Eucharist’: see comm. on 69, ΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ.

74. The description of Mark’s death is very close to the one of Macedonius in 54: first the bishop’s body starts to deteriorate (ΑΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΚΑ ΒΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ ‘his body lost strength’, cf. 54, ΑΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΖΡΟΩ ΕΡΟΦ ‘his body started to cause him difficulties’); then he calls to him his confidant(s) and announces his successor (in the first case Mark and Isaiah, with Mark being announced as the

new bishop; in the second case Isaiah); after a short deathbed, the bishop dies and his date of death is given; finally, the people come, mourn and bury him.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΥΧΘΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΠΑ Δ[ΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΙΝΑ]-  
ΤΖΑΝΖΟΥΤΚ ΕΤΛΙΤ[ΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ 'Since the holy Archbishop Apa  
Athanasius said that I should entrust you with this ministry of the episcopate':  
in fulfilment of Athanasius' pronouncement, again in 69, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΤΡΚ-  
ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ, ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΠΕΚΜΑ 'Therefore, after your perfection (in  
death), he will sit in your place'. For λειτουργία in the sense of 'ministry', in this  
case of the episcopal office, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. λειτουργία 3.

ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΟΜΟΝ ΜΟΟΥ ΖΑΖΤΜ ΠΩΜΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΙ-  
ΣΚΟΠΟΣ 'And thus he was buried beside the body of Bishop Apa Macedonius':  
as appears from 54, outside Macedonius' dwelling in the Valley, where Mark no  
doubt continued to live after his death.

75–78. *The story of Isaiah is by far the shortest in section 2 and reads as a dressed-down version of Mark's story, which has the same structure: election of Isaiah (75, cf. 55–56); journey to Alexandria and ordination by Athanasius (75–76, cf. 57–71); celebration of the new bishop (77, cf. 72); reluctance to come out to the city (last two lines of 77, cf. 73); death and burial next to Macedonius and Mark (78, cf. 74). Moreover, the formulation is extremely close to the similar descriptions in the story of Mark (the closest parallels have been noted in the commentary below). The reason for the condensed nature of the episcopate of Isaiah is that he already plays a prominent role in the previous episodes: from the two visions in 37–41 it is clear that Isaiah is as destined for an ecclesiastical career as Mark, as Athanasius reminds the latter in 69, and he is the one who performs the miracle of the camel's leg in 46 that leads to the conversion of Philae. Moreover, after Macedonius has appointed him deacon in 43, Mark follows suit in consecrating him priest in 73 and announces that he will be his successor on his deathbed in 74. Consequently, the author felt it unnecessary to go beyond the bare minimum to describe his tenure as a bishop. Unlike in the story of Mark, there is also no discussion whatsoever about his election and hardly any objection on his side in 75, as he had already been recognized as one of the legitimate heirs ('sons') of Macedonius in 56.*

75. ΠΕΥΗΦΙΣΜΑ 'the nomination': the manuscript has ΨΙΣΜΑ, with ΦΙΣ written above it. The scribe probably made the mistaken addition due to a reading error at the beginning of the word (ΙC for Η, or more probably Υ, as the word is spelled in 60 and 76). The error is continued on the back of the same folio (76), which has ΨΙCΦΙΣΜΑ, although a couple lines lower the word is spelled again ΨΥΦΙΣΜΑ. For the term, see comm. on 60, ΠΕΥΥΦΙΣΜΑ.

[...]: when we look at the parallel story of Mark's visit to Alexandria in 57, in the lacuna the companions would have arrived and asked a bystander (πρωμε 'the man', see next entry) where the patriarch was.

76. ⲉⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲉϥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ πρⲱⲙⲉ, ⲉⲓⲥ παρⲭⲏⲉⲓⲥⲕⲟⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϥⲗⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ρⲁⲧⲉϥⲩⲏ 'As they were still talking with the man, there the archbishop arrived with people singing before him': ⲉⲓⲥ shows the unexpectedness of Athanasius' arrival on the scene (cf. E.D. Zakrzewska, 'Initial Constituents in Narrative Bohairic', in J. van der Vliet, M. Immerzeel [eds], *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 1 [Leuven, 2004] 177–191 at 182–186). For Mark, Isaiah and Psoulousia being welcomed by a singing crowd at Philae, cf. 72, 77, 82 (ⲁϥⲗⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ρⲁⲧⲉϥⲩⲏ 'they sang before him'). This was (and still is) the usual way of welcoming an (arch)bishop in a procession, see e.g. the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* (ed. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta*, 28), in which Athanasius is welcomed by Pachomius and his brothers while ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣⲗⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲭⲱϥ 'they sang before him'.

ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲑⲓⲙⲁ: the spelling in the manuscript is ⲩⲓⲥⲑⲓⲙⲁ, as in 75 (see comm. there on ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲑⲓⲙⲁ). For the meaning of the word ('the nomination'), which also occurs in the next line as ⲩϥⲑⲓⲙⲁ, see comm. on 60, ⲡⲉⲩϥⲑⲓⲙⲁ.

ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ 'the Eucharist': see comm. on 69, ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲑⲟⲣⲁ.

ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟϥⲛ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲛⲏⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲁϥⲭⲓⲧⲩ̅ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲛⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲁϥⲭⲓⲣⲟⲗⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲕⲟⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'He rose, took Isaiah and led him inside. He ordained him bishop': the description of the consecration of Isaiah contains several verbal echoes of the one of Mark, especially in this sentence, cf. 69, ⲁϥⲱ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲟϥⲛ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲭ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟ̅ⲥ [ⲁ]ϥⲭⲓⲧⲩ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲉⲥⲓⲁ ... ⲁϥⲭⲓ[ⲣⲟ]ⲗⲱⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ 'Thus he rose, took the hand of Mark, led him into the church, (...), and ordained him'.

77. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲩ̅ ⲛ̅ⲑⲓ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲏ ⲁϥⲱ ⲁϥⲗⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ρⲁⲧⲉϥⲩⲏ ⲁϥⲭⲓⲧⲩ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲉⲥⲓⲁ ⲁϥⲑⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲓⲥⲕⲟⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'The people heard about it and came to meet him (Isaiah). They sang before him, took him into the church and enthroned him. And he gave them the letter of the archbishop': the welcoming of the new bishop closely resembles the one of Mark, cf. in particular this passage with 72, ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟϥⲥⲱⲧⲩ̅ ⲁⲉ ⲛ̅ⲑⲓ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ ρⲏⲧⲩ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ρ̅ⲛ ρⲉⲛⲗⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ ρⲉⲛⲣⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ. ⲁϥⲗⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ρⲁⲧⲉϥⲩⲏ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟϥⲭⲓⲧⲩ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲉⲑ̅ⲛⲥⲟϥ ρⲓⲭⲩ̅ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲥϥⲥⲧⲁⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲧⲉⲓⲥⲕⲟⲓⲛⲟⲥ 'When the people heard about this, they all went out to meet him with psalms and hymns. They sang before him until they brought him into the church and seated him upon the throne. And he gave them the letter of episcopal appointment'.

ⲁϥⲑⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁⲩⲉ 'they enthroned him': the Greek verb from which this loanword is derived seems to be θροניάζω, which is marked by D. Demetrakos, *Μέγα λεξικόν*



δλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, vol. 4 (Athens, 1964) 3378 as medieval and modern. Cf. the verb θρονίζω, for which see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.

ΑΥΩ ΜΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΟΥΝΟϚ Ν̄ϚΟΟΥ ΝΩΔ ΑΥΩ ΖΙ ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΝΕΩΔΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟϚ ΕΙ Μ̄ ΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΚΟϚ Μ̄ ΝΝΟϚ ΜΠΛΑΟϚ ΝΣΕΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟϚ ΩΑΝΤΕϚ-ΟΥΑΖΩ ΝΩΟΥ 'And he did not go to the city except on a major festival day. Even then the clergy had to come with (all) the clergymen and the notables of the people to plead with him until he followed them': Isaiah's reluctance to go to Philae underlines his ascetic character and explicitly draws on 73 (see comm. ad loc.).

78. [...]: in the lacuna Isaiah's death would have been reported, including his dying day, as in the case of Macedonius, Mark and Psoulousia.

ΑΥΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΦΛΥΓΑΝ'Ο'Ν ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ 'they shrouded his venerable remains': in variation of ΑΥΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΦΩΜΑ 'they shrouded his body' in 74. Since the phrase is preceded by ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ, as in 74, the subject is clearly 'the people' and our reconstruction of the end of the lacuna is intended as a variation of the formulation used there. For λείψανον in the sense of '(human) remains', see LSJ s.v. λείψανον 2; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. λείψανον 3a; Förster, *WB* s.v. (all examples spelled with λι-).

ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝΕΖΠΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΑΓΔΑΘΟϚ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ 'And they all mourned him, for he was a very good man': especially the second part is extremely close to 74, ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ ΕΡ'Ο'Υ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΑΓΔΑΘΟϚ {ΠΕ} 'and they all wept over him, for he was a good man'.

ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΟϚ ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΜΠΩΔ ΑΥΤΟΜϚ 'After they had prepared him for burial as befitted his dignity, they buried him': almost the same phrase is found in 54, describing Macedonius' burial, ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΟϚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΜΠΩΔ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΩΜ̄ ΜΜΟϚ 'they prepared him for burial as befitted his dignity and buried him'.

ΝΕΦΩΒΗΡ ΛΥΤΟΥΡΓΟϚ 'his fellow ministers': the Coptic expression corresponds to Greek συλλειτουργός (Lampe, *PGL* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.v.). In Coptic documentary texts, as here, it specifically denotes fellow bishops, e.g. Crum, *VC* 38.1, 17, 39.23, 24.

79–85. *The story of Psoulousia, like the one of Isaiah, again mostly contains the same elements as the story of Mark: the bishop's election and reluctance to accept the job (79, cf. 55–56); the journey to Alexandria and ordination by, this time, a successor of Athanasius (probably Timothy 1; 80–81, cf. 57–71); the celebration of the arrival of the new bishop and his administration of Communion (82, cf. 72–73); his death and burial (85, cf. 74). In several places, the formulation also comes close to the one used for similar situations in the preceding episodes (the most pertinent parallels have been noted in the commentary below). However, the*



trary to the translations by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 983, Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 101, and Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 110 (see also his discussion at pp. 52–53), the Coptic does not say that Apa Aaron made Psoulousia a monk when he was a bishop. Rather, after the future bishop has been introduced, it is added between the lines that it was under him that Apa Aaron lived as a monk. This seems to contradict the remark in 28 that Apa Aaron had heard the story of the creation of the see of Philae from the first bishop, Macedonius, himself. However, as we have seen, the representation of Aaron as conversation partner of Macedonius is a literary device to enhance the saint's glory and a convenient way of incorporating the stories of the bishops in the work (see comm. on 28, ⲉⲡⲉⲗⲁⲛ ... [ⲡⲉⲡⲓ]ⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ). Moreover, at the end of the *Life of Aaron*, Aaron is buried besides Bishops Macedonius, Mark and Isaiah outside their home in the Valley (137), which suggests that he lived after Isaiah had died and not in Macedonius' time. It is most likely, then, that Aaron lived as a monk around 385, when Psoulousia was bishop of Philae. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 243, 248.

ⲉⲧⲏⲏⲥⲟⲥ 'to this island': see entry above.

[ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲅ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲁⲅ ⲉ]ⲛⲓⲙ; 'He said to them, "Whom have you gone out to see?":' the lacuna would have contained the request by the people to Psoulousia to become their bishop, with the beginning of his response to it in the form of a question ending with [ⲉ]ⲛⲓⲙ 'who?'. Just as in the cases of Macedonius (30) and Mark (56)—Isaiah is a different story (see comm. on 75–78)—, the holy man declines the offer, Macedonius and Mark because they are 'unworthy' (see comm. on 56, ⲡⲁⲅ ... ⲛⲧⲏⲙⲓⲛⲉ), Psoulousia because of his 'ignorance' (see next entry). Within this context, we have reconstructed the end of the lacuna as an adaptation of Matt. 11:7–9 and Luke 7:24–26, where Jesus three times repeats the question ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲁⲅ ⲉⲟⲅ; 'What have you gone out to see?' (the first time with the addition ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ 'into the wilderness'). Not only the context of the questions—the people going out into the wilderness—but also the aim of their journey—John the Baptist, the prototypical ascetic (see comm. on 6, ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓⲟⲅⲱⲙ ... ⲉⲟⲟⲅⲓⲧ)—provide a suitable parallel situation to warrant the reconstruction. If correct, by means of the paraphrase Psoulousia poses the question what motivates the crowd to come and seek out this ascetic who lives in such a desolate place. Since the answer to the three rhetorical questions that Jesus poses is John the Baptist (ⲉⲅⲣⲟⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ 'a prophet') and Psoulousia puts himself down as but an ignorant ascetic in the next sentence, the implication is that he is not up to the task at hand, thus nicely illustrating his reticence in becoming a bishop.

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲟⲅⲉⲗⲁⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ, ⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲅⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲟⲅⲛⲁⲙ ⲙⲏ ⲧⲁⲉⲃⲟⲅⲣ 'For I am an ignorant man and I do not know my right hand from my left': we have

encountered the motif of ascetics priding themselves on their lack of knowledge twice before, for Zaboulon (3: [ΔΗΓ ΟΥΔ]ΤΣΟΟΥΝ ‘I am ignorant’) and Matthew (16: ΝΤΗΝΟΙ ΔΝ ‘I do not know’; see comm. ad loc.). Here it is expanded by a reference to Jonah 4:11 (ΝΔΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟ[ΥΣ]ΟΥΝ ΤΕΥΟΥΝΔΗ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΖ[ΒΟΥ]Ρ ‘who do not know their right hand from their left’, ed. E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London, 1912] 121), which is adjusted to the context.

ΔΥΧΙΤῚ ΔΕ ΝΧΝΔΖ ‘they seized him by force’: as we have seen above, the descriptions of the episcopates of Macedonius (30) and Mark (56) also contain the motif of the refusal of the episcopal office. While the stories of Macedonius and Mark closely resemble each other in that both decline because they deem themselves unworthy (see comm. on 56, ΝΔΥ ... ΝΤΜΗΝΕ), those of Mark and Psoulousia have in common that both men have to be forced into accepting it. To describe this situation, the exact same words are used here as in 56. For the extremely common motif of the refusal of the episcopal office in Christian literature, in which candidates are often forced, see e.g. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 143–147; for some Egyptian examples, see R. Cherubini, ‘Ammonas di Sketis († 375 ca.). Un esempio di influsso monastico in un vescovo egiziano del IV sec.’, in *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1997) 327–345 at 334–342, where the case of Psoulousia is mentioned at p. 335; R. Dekker, ‘Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos (Egypt): “He Did Not Pursue the Honour, but It Was the Honour that Pursued Him”’, in Leemans et al., *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, 331–341 at 337–341.

ΠΕΥΥΦΙΣΜΑ ‘the nomination’: see comm. on 60, ΠΕΥΥΦΙΣΜΑ.

80. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΤῚΡΩ ΝΧΙΣΣΑ ΔΥΔΛΕ ΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΚΑΦΟΣ ΘΑΝΤΟΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΠΟΛΙΣ ‘When they reached the harbour of Schissa, they boarded a small boat (and sailed) until they arrived in the city’: compared with the previous episode of Mark and his companions at Schissa, the delegation of Psoulousia is travelling in the opposite direction and so, rather than looking for a large boat to take them south, the delegation here embarks on a small boat to take them to Alexandria. See comm. on 70, ΕΥΜΑ ... ΧΙΣΣΑ.

ΠΠΕΙΛΩΝ ‘the Gateway’: once in Alexandria, the delegates head for ΠΠΕΙΛΩΝ, ‘the Gateway’, where they find the archbishop in conference with two other bishops. Since the monument has not been mentioned before and is referred to with a definite article, it must be a well-known location in Alexandria. It is quite possible that with ΠΠΕΙΛΩΝ the famous Tetrapylon is meant, called in Coptic ΠΠΟΘ ΝΤΕΤΡΑΠΥΛΩΝ ‘the great Tetrapylon’, which was situated in the vicinity of a church, as is clear from Jo. Mosch. *prat.* 77 (PG 87, cols 2929–2932), where John and Sophronius visit someone who lives near the church and, upon hearing that he is having a siesta, decide to wait at the Tetrapylon. See J. Gascou,

‘Recherches de topographie alexandrine: le grand Tétrapyle’, *Ktema* 27 (2002) 337–343; J.S. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 BC to AD 700* (New Haven, 2007) 253–255.

ΝΤΟϚ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ‘the archbishop’: the name of the patriarch consecrating Psoulousia does not appear to be given (unless it is in the following lacuna) but is most likely Timothy I (380–385), whose death is reported in the episode directly after Psoulousia’s return to Philae (comm. on 83, ἀσώωπε ... ὁεοφίλος). See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 258.

ἐϚϚΥΝΤΕΧΕΙ ‘as he was having a conversation’: the loanword is derived from Greek συντυγχάνω. Cf. ϚΥΝΤΕΧΙΑ (for συντυχία) in 4 and 18.

ἀΘΡΙΒΕ ‘Athribis’: for Late Antique Athribis (modern Tell Atrib), a city in the Delta, see Timm 1.257–265.

ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲁ: the reading, which is more likely than ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲁ, is fairly certain but does not correspond to a known Egyptian episcopal see, so could perhaps refer to a foreign city.

ΜΗΜΗΝΕ, Ω ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ, ΚΩΘΟΠ ΖἸΝ ΟΥΜἩΤΑΤΡΟΟΥΩΥ ἩΠΟΟΥ ΚΗΑϚΙ ΡΟΟΥΩΥ ΝΤἸΖΕ ΖΩΩΝ ‘Monk, every day you enjoy a life free from concerns. Today, you will take on concerns similar to ours’: the answer of the archbishop to the refusal of Psoulousia of the episcopal office in 79 is reminiscent of Athanasius’ *Letter to Dracontius* (Brennecke, Heil and Von Stockhausen, pp. 314–321) of 346/347–356/357, in which he puts forward several arguments why this monk, who has fled after having been elected as bishop of Hermopolis Parva (in the Delta), should come to Alexandria to be ordained. Cf. in particular *ep. Drac.* 2 (Brennecke, Heil and Von Stockhausen, p. 315): Δεῖ γὰρ εἰδέναι σε καὶ μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν, ὅτι πρὶν μὲν κατασταθῆς σαυτῷ ἑξῆς, κατασταθεὶς δὲ οἷς κατεστάθης ‘for you must know, and not be in doubt, that before you were appointed you lived for yourself, but after your appointment (you live) for those for whom you have been appointed’. See on this letter, e.g. M. Tetz, ‘Zur Biographie des Athanasius von Alexandrien’, in W.A. von Bienert, K. Schäferdiek (eds), *Von Konstantin zu Theodosius. Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte des 4. Jahrhunderts. Wilhelm Schneemelcher zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1979) 158–192 at 179–183 (repr. in idem, *Athanasiana. Zu Leben und Lehre des Athanasius* [Berlin, 1995] 23–60 at 46–50); Martin, *Athanasie*, 467–468.

81. ΤΕΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ ‘the Eucharist’: see comm. on 69, ΤΕΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ.

ΔϚΠΟΩΝἩ ΝΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ· Εἴτα ΔϚΠΟΩΝἩ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, Εἴτα ΔϚΑΔϚ ΜΠΕΡΕ-ΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ· ΖΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΔϚΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟϚ ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ‘(he) ordained him as a reader; then he ordained him deacon and then he made him priest; in a similar manner he consecrated him bishop’: the monk Psoulousia is taken through the entire *cursus honorum* of the clerical hierarchy, from reader (one of the minor orders) to bishop. On the reader (Greek ἀναγνώστης), see E. Wipszycka,

'Les ordres mineurs dans l'église d'Égypte du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *JJP* 23 (1993) 181–215 at 194–205 (repr. in eadem, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* [Rome, 1996] 225–255 at 238–248); Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 38–39. At p. 195, Wipszycka notes that texts which mention the clerical orders without the scribe wanting to give an exhaustive list often include only the most common of the minor orders, that of the readers, referring as an example to *O.Crum* 84.1–2 (εἶτε πῖρ(ρεσβύτερος) εἶδε διακ(ονος) εἶτε ῥαναγ(νωστής); part of a letter of Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis, ca. 600). This may well be the reason why it is listed here in first place.

ΤΣΥΣΤΑΔΙΚΗ ΝΤΜΗΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ 'the letter of episcopal appointment': see 69, ΤΣΥΣΤΑ(ΤΙ)ΚΗ ΝΤΜΗΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

αφεκλαβε 'he took down (the text) from him': refers to the procedure of writing down a text dictated to someone, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἐκλαμβάνω. For the notation λαβε (for λαμβάνω), see Förster, *WB* s.v.

[ - - - ] . ΝΣΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΤΜΗΤΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΣΤΑΘΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΜΠΩΔ, ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΑΥΘΟΟΛΚ ΝΟΥΣΤΟΛΗ ΔΥΩ ΔΥ† ΝΣΕΝΩΟΥΤ ΕΡΡΑΙ ΕΝΕΚ-ΟΙΣ. '[...] everything of the episcopal office that has fallen to me beyond my worth', saying, "I saw you and you were clothed with a robe and keys were placed in your hands": in the lacuna, the bishop would have handed over the letter of appointment to the delegation. What happened afterwards is harder to reconstruct but undoubtedly the return to the patriarch is no chance event and gives him the opportunity to entrust Psoulousia with some important information, just as Athanasius took Mark aside in 69 before the delegation left (see comm. on ΝΤΕΡΝΗ ... ΘΑΡΟΥ). Apparently, the words 'I saw you and you were clothed with a robe and keys were placed in your hands' refers to a vision that he had seen concerning Psoulousia and which combines elements from Mark's vision (40, though the piece of clothing is ΟΥΟΥΤΗΝ 'a tunic' there), of which Athanasius miraculously had knowledge in 58 and 69, and that of Macedonius (37: keys). In the same way, the patriarch's vision indicates that Psoulousia is destined for the episcopate (cf. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 244, 258). Since ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ introduces the words of the archbishop, it is likely that what precedes are also his words.

82. ΕΠΕΓΤΟΠΟΣ 'to his cell': see comm. on 66, ΠΕΓΤΟΠΟΣ.

ΕΤΖΝ ΤΗΗΣΟΣ 'on the island': see comm. on 79, ΖΝ †ΤΗΗΣΟΣ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΕΦΟΥΕΩ ΤΕΣΧΙΑ ΜΜΑΔΤΕ 'for he was a man who greatly loved solitude': similar words are used to characterize Athanasius in 57, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΦΜΕ ΜΠΕΣΡΑΖΤ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ 'for he was a holy man who greatly loved solitude'. For the monastic concept of ἡσυχία 'solitude', see comm. on 57, ΝΤΕΡΝΒΩΚ ... ΕΜΑΔΤΕ. Interestingly, the love of solitude, which is essential for progressing as a monk, contrasts here with Psoulousia's worldly duties, as his flock will soon make clear to him.

ΕΤΝΗCOC 'to the island': see comm. on 79, 2<sup>h</sup> ἡ ἑκκλῆσια.

ΑΥΧΝΟΥÇ 'they asked him': the manuscript has ΑΥΤΑΜΟÇ 'they told him', which makes little sense as Psoulousia is well aware of his appointment. The interchange of ΤΑΜΟÇ/ΧΝΟΥÇ is not rare: it occurs another time in our text (comm. on 86, ΔΚΧΝΟΥÇ) and e.g. in the *Mysteries of Saint John*, fol. 3a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 60), ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΙΤΑΜΟÇ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΚΤΑΜΟΙ (read ΕΠΕΝΤΑΚΧΝΟΥÇ) ΕΡΟÇ, 'Look, I have told you what you asked me'. We have therefore changed the verb to ΑΥΧΝΟΥÇ: the people, who after having elected Psoulousia have learned about his return and are growing impatient as they remain without a bishop, would like to know what happened to his consecration in Alexandria. Psoulousia's companions then confirm that he has indeed been ordained, upon which the people wonder why he did not enter the city as all three previous bishops did (51, 72 and 77). Interestingly, the motif of the bishop's reluctance to be present at his see, which we encountered before for both Mark and Isaiah who only come out for a major festival (see comm. on 73 and 77, ΑΥΩ ... ΝCΩΟΥÇ), is enlarged here by combining it with the bishop's arrival. Whereas Mark and Isaiah first go to the city and then retreat, the order is reversed for Psoulousia who, no doubt because of his monastic inclination to solitude (see entry on ΕΒΟΛ ... ΜΗΔΑΤΕ above), immediately heads for his cell and requires significant persuasion to come out and enter the city.

ΑΥΤΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΘΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΕCΙΑ ΝCΕΘῆCΟΥ ΕΧῆ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΚΑΤΑ ΤCΥΝΗΘΙΑ '(they) sang before him until they took him to the church and seated him upon the throne according to custom': the formulation is very close to similar descriptions for Mark and Isaiah (see comm. on 77, ΑCΩΤῆ ... ἡ ΤΗΝΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC), esp. 72, ΑΥΤΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΘΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝCΕΘῆCΟΥ ΖΙΧῆ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC 'they sang before him until they took him to the church and seated him upon the throne'.

ΑΥΡ ΜΗΤΑCΕ ἡ ΖΟΥÇ ΕΥΚΑ[ΘΗΓΕΙ ΜΠΑ]ΟC 2<sup>h</sup> ΝΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(he) spent sixteen days instructing the people in the words of God': once he is on Philae, he spends no less than sixteen days instructing his flock. Compare with the seven days of Macedonius (53) and three days devoted to it by both Mark (72) and Isaiah (77). Again the formulation is closest to the story of Mark, where we read ΑΥΡ ΘΩΗΝΤ ἡ ΖΟΥÇ 2<sup>h</sup> ΤΕΚΚΛΕCΙΑ [Ε]ΥΚΑΘΗΓΕΙ ΜΠΟΥÇ 2<sup>h</sup> ΠΩΔΧΕ ΜΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ] 'he spent three days in the church instructing them in the word of God'.

83–84. For the annual Alexandrian rite that is described here, in which all bishops come to Alexandria, probably on the Friday of the sixth week of Lent, to pray with the patriarch over the baptismal font after which baptism is administered to those who wish and they receive Communion, see L. Villecourt, 'Un

manuscript arabe sur le saint chrême dans l'église copte (suite et fin)', *RHE* 18 (1922) 5–19 at 13–17, further developed in 'La lettre de Macaire, évêque de Memphis, sur la liturgie antique du chrême et du baptême à Alexandrie', *Muséon* 36 (1923) 33–46; O.H.E. Burmester, 'The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church', *BSAC* 11 (1945) 27–86 at 82–84 (citing our text at p. 83); Bradshaw, 'Baptismal Practice', 5–10 (citing our text at p. 7).

As astutely noted by A. Łajtar and E. Wipszycka in their review of Dijkstra, *Philae and the End* (*JJP* 39 [2009] 333–341 at 340), the episode of Psoulousia and the miracle of the baptismal font reworks the better known story about Theophilus, Horsiesius and the wand of light found in the *Historia Horsiesii* that we encountered before as another Late Antique text that mentions the toponym Schissa (see comm. on 70, ⲉϣⲙⲁ ... ⲥⲏⲓⲥⲥⲁ). According to this story, each year when the bishops are praying at the font ⲟⲩⲥⲣⲁⲃⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ 'a wand of light' appears that miraculously consecrates the water. This year, however, it does not come. On the following night, Theophilus hears a voice saying that the miracle will not happen without Horsiesius, the abbot of the Pachomian *koinonia* (see e.g. A. Veilleux, 'Horsiesios, Saint', in *Copt.Enc.* IV [1991] 1257–1258; P. Rousseau, *Pachomius. The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* [Berkeley, 1999<sup>2</sup>] 183–191). The patriarch therefore sends two deacons to fetch him and they duly return. On the Saturday before Easter, they enter the baptistery and as Theophilus prays—now in the presence of Horsiesius—the miraculous wand finally appears (ed. Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 12–15; a shortened version is found in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* [PO 1, p. 427, with the comment by Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 65 (n. 5) to read Arsesius instead of Arsenius]; on the text, see also T. Orlandi, 'Due fogli papiracei da Medinet Madi [Fayum]: l'*Historia Horsiesii*', *EVO* 13 [1990] 109–126, who proposes the name *Historia Horsiesii* for the work [parts of it were included under *CPG* 2371, 2608, 2609], provides an Italian translation and publishes two additional folia from a seventh/eighth-century papyrus codex in the Faiyumic dialect containing a later passage of the same text).

In our story, the element of the miracle taking place on the Saturday has been taken over and has been combined with the ceremony, even though both events are clearly separated in the *Historia Horsiesii* and the miracle occurs some time after the actual ceremony, which—as we have seen—probably fell on a Friday. Moreover, the focus of the story has been shifted from Horsiesius to another (former) monk, Psoulousia, who is present at the ceremony as bishop of Philae, and the miracle does not consist of a wand of light but of the water beginning to boil as soon as the bishop joins the others in prayer (see comm. on 84, ⲁϣⲱ ... ⲥⲁⲣⲟϥ for the connection between baptism and fire). Finally, the miracle of Psoulousia has been connected to the inauguration of Theophilus as



a new bishop in 385 (comm. on 83, ἀσώωπε ... θεοφιλος). However, this combination cannot reflect reality as Theophilus was ordained on 26 July 385 and his first Easter celebration took place only the following year, on 5 April 386. Cf. A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria* (345 c.–412). *Scritti, vita e dottrina* (Turin, 1958) 50–51. A reason why the author combined the events may be that, since Psoulousia was ordained under a predecessor, probably Timothy I who is mentioned at the start of this passage (comm. on 80, ΝΤΟΥ ... ΠΑΡΧΗΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ), he used the transition both to introduce the new patriarch and to make the occasion of Psoulousia's visit to Alexandria even more memorable (cf. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 239, 258). Thus we can see how the author took his cue from the text that he knew and remoulded it into his own story.

83. ἀσώωπε ΔΕ ΜΗΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΑΜΤΟΝ ΜΗ'Ο'Υ ΝΒΙ ΑΠΑ ΤΗΘΕΟΣ, ΕΑΥΚΑΘΙ-  
 ΣΤΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ 'It happened after these things that Apa Timothy went to  
 rest, after having appointed Apa Theophilus': Timothy I, who was the brother  
 of his predecessor Peter II (373–380), died on 20 July 385. Theophilus (385–  
 412) was ordained bishop on the following Sunday (26 July). See Favale, *Teo-  
 filo*, 48–50; N. Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* (Abingdon/New York, 2007) 4  
 (with n. 9). The death of Timothy and his succession by Theophilus is men-  
 tioned in a historical entry (erroneously) included under the year 387 in the  
 so-called 'Alexandrian World Chronicle' (Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine  
 Arts, inv. 310/8 r<sup>o</sup> 17–22), a sixth-century chronograph: Τοῦτω τῷ ἔ[τει Τιμό]θεος  
 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀ[λεξανδ]ρείας, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πέ[τρου τοῦ ἐ]πισκόπου, ἐτελεύ[τησεν  
 'Επ]ίφ κς ἰνδικ(τίονος) β κ[αὶ ἐκάθισε]ν αὐτ' αὐτοῦ Θεόφ[ιλος ἔτη κη] 'In this  
 year Timothy the bishop of Alexandria, the brother of Bishop Peter, died on  
 26 Epeiph in the second indiction and in his place sat Theophilus for 28 years'.  
 In the margin to the right of the text the dead Timothy is represented as a  
 mummy, while beneath him there is a depiction of the new bishop wearing  
 a scarf and carrying a book. See R.W. Burgess, J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'The "Alexandrian  
 World Chronicle", Its *Consularia* and the Date of the Destruction of the Sera-  
 peum (with an Appendix on the *Praefecti Augustales*)', *Millennium* 10 (2013)  
 39–113 at 80–81 (with Pl. 1).

ΘΒΤΩΜΑΣ 'the week': for some other spellings of Greek ἐβδομάς in Coptic, see Förster, *WB* s.v.

ἸΖΗΤῸ: the manuscript has ἸΖΗΤῸ, thus incorrectly referring back to ΘΒΤΩ-  
 ΜΑΣ where it should refer to ΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ. We have corrected the text.

ΔΥΩΛΗΛ ΕΧῸ ΠΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ 'they prayed over the Jordan': in the Egyptian  
 Church the rite of baptism was closely connected to the story of Jesus' bap-  
 tism in the Jordan (Matt. 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22), to the point where  
 the baptismal font was equated with the river. As succinctly summarized by  
 Sophr. H., *mir. Cyr. et Jo.* 39.5 (preserved in the Latin translation of the work): *hoc*

*enim nomine Alexandrini sacri baptismatis piscinam significant, eo quod Christus Dominus noster ad purgationem nostri sit in Iordane flumine baptizatus* ‘les Alexandrins donnent ce nom à la piscine du sacré baptême, parce que notre Seigneur le Christ a été baptisé dans le fleuve Jourdain pour notre rédemption’ (p. 337 Fernández Marcos; trans. J. Gascou, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Miracles de saints Cyr et Jean* (BHG I 477–479) [Paris, 2006] 146). For the connection between baptism and the Jordan in the early Egyptian Church, see in general e.g. Johnson, *Liturgy*, 7–8, and *Rites*, 53–54, 56–58, for the baptismal font as ‘Jordan’, e.g. Kretschmar, ‘Beiträge’, 4, 13, 37. The same designation is still used today in the Bohairic baptismal rite, see Burmester, ‘Baptismal Rite’, 55, 71 (with n. 1 mentioning this passage in our text), 75.

84. ἀγτῆς παρχιεπισκοπος δε εἰβνητῷ ρῆ πεπν(εγμ)α ‘The archbishop, however, was warned about him by the Spirit’: just as Athanasius is informed by the Spirit about the arrival of Mark and his delegation (comm. on 58, παρχιεπισκοπος ... πεπν[(εγμ)α]), Theophilus learns that Psoulousia is lingering at the door to the baptistery.

εἰτε οὐ ἵπκεῖ [εἰτεκκλη]σίᾳ εἰτρῶληλ ἡμῶν; ‘Why have you not come into the church to pray with us?’: Theophilus is not asking why Psoulousia has not entered the church—he is already inside—he is wondering why he did not follow the other bishops into the baptistery to pray over the font.

αὐτῷ ἡτεγνοῦ νταφωρῶ ἡνεφείχ εβολ αφωληλ ἡμῶν ρι ογσοπ, αςβῆρῆ νσι τκολῆμῆθῶρᾱ θῶε νογχαλχιον εγσαρτε ραροφ ‘And immediately when he stretched out his hands and prayed with them, the font began to boil like a cauldron beneath which a fire is lit’: for the link between baptism and fire in early Christian symbolism, going back to Matt. 3:11 and Luke 3:16, where John the Baptist says about Jesus, ‘he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire’ (trans. NRSV), see J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie* (Paris, 1958<sup>2</sup>) 136–138, 144–147 (quoting the Bohairic and Ethiopic baptismal rites), and more generally Edsman, *Baptême de feu*.

ογχαλχιον ‘a cauldron’: see LSJ s.v. χαλκίον 1; Förster, *WB* s.v., who does not list the spelling as in our text but it is found e.g. in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Sahidic version, fol. 10b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 538).

αφαπολει ‘he sent them away’: the form is derived from Greek ἀπολύω and mentioned as such by Förster, *WB* s.v.

εἰτε πεφτῆβο ‘because of his purity’: earlier, in 6, we have seen that the monk John is praised εἰτε πτῆβο ἡπεφῆντ ἡν πτ[ῆ]βο ἡπεφῶμα ‘because of the purity of his heart and the purity of his body’.

85. εφ’ ὁ σῶραξτ’ (‘being) in solitude’: conform his characterization as a man who loved solitude, see comm. on 82, εβολ ... ἡμᾶστε.

πτοπος ‘the cell’: see comm. on 66, πεφτοπος.

ὡς περὶ οὗ νταφχῶκ ἐβόλ νητῆρῷ ‘until the day when he reached perfection (in death)’: see comm. on 15, ὡς περὶ οὗ μπεφχῶκ ἐβόλ.

ἐνεαφχτο δὲ ἐπὶ ὧν ἐχιν σοὺ χούωτ μπάωνε· μῆνσῶς ἀφῆτον μμοὺ ἡσοὺ χούτῳ με μπειεβὸτ ἡσοὺτ ‘After he had succumbed to illness on the twentieth of Paone (14 June), he subsequently went to rest on the twenty-third of that same month (17 June)’: again the description runs parallel to the similar stories of the other bishops, especially the death notice of Mark, where we read in 74: ἀφῶτο ἐπὶ ὧν ἐχσοὺ μῆτ ντῶβε· ἀφῶ ται τε ὅε ἡταφῆτον μ[μοὺ] ἡσοὺ μῆταφτε μπειεβὸτ ἡσοὺτ ‘he succumbed to the illness on the tenth of Tobe (5 January) and thus he went to rest on the fourteenth of that same month (9 January)’.

ἀγεί δὲ ἐβόλ νβί πεκληρὸς τηρῷ μῆ πλᾶος ἀσκεπαζε μπεφσῶμα ἐτταινή ‘The entire clergy and the people came and shrouded his venerable body’: cf. the similar descriptions in 74, ἀφῶ ἡτεροῦτα με πλᾶος ἀγεί ἐβόλ ἀσκεπαζε μπεφσῶμα ‘And when the people were informed, they came and shrouded his body’ and 78, ντερε πλᾶος σῶτμ] ἀγεί ἐβόλ ἀσκεπαζε μπεφλγῆν ὅν ἐτταινή ‘When the people heard (about his death), they came and shrouded his venerable remains’ (with comm. ad loc.).

ἀφῶμῶς μμοὺ [χμ πεφκοί] μιτηρίον ἐτταινή μμιν μμ[οφ] ‘They buried him in his own venerable burial place’: i.e. he is not buried with Macedonius (54), Mark (74) and Isaiah (78) in the Valley, but alone on his island, probably el-Hesa. For κοιμητήριον as an individual place of burial, see LSJ s.v. κοιμητήριον II and Lampe, *PGL* s.v. κοιμητήριον 2.

### Section 3: The Life of Aaron (86–140)

*Section 3 (86–140), made up of five parts, contains Isaac’s second story to Paphnutius, in which he recounts the life of his master Aaron. He begins by telling about Aaron’s youth as he has heard it from the holy man himself (86–88). He then continues with his own experiences with Aaron. The story of how he met his master and is initiated into the ascetic life by him closely resembles Pseleusius’ two stories in section 1 (89–97, cf. 4–9, 10–25). There follows an extensive catalogue of miracles (98–136). The story ends with Aaron’s death (137), which is reminiscent of the death notices of the bishops of Philae in section 2, not least because Aaron is buried beside the first three of them. A brief epilogue concludes the entire work (138–140).*

*86–88. As in 26, this passage starts out with with a concluding statement of the previous section, the history of the first bishops of Philae. Without interruption,*

*Isaac carries on with his narration of what he has heard from Aaron. He now describes his master's youth, in particular how his parents enlisted him in the army but after a life-or-death encounter with a lion he decided to become a monk, first at Scetis and later at Philae. The passage thus sits comfortably at the beginning of section 3, as it continues the narrative situation of section 2 (Aaron's story as told through Isaac) while at the same time introducing a completely new subject matter, the life of Aaron.*

86. Τῆνοϋ σε, πασον παπνοϋτε, επειδῃ ἀκχνογι εἵβε ζενκογι, εἰς ζηντε αἰταμοκ εἵβε νεπισκοπος νταγωπε ρῃ πιακ νοε ντα παειωτ ἀπα ζαρω(ν) ταμοι ρωωτ 'Now then, my brother Paphnutius, since you have asked me for some information, I have told you about the bishops who were in Philae, just as my father Apa Aaron told it to me': marks the return to the primary narrative level, just as εἰς ναῖ οὖν and the direct address of Isaac's conversation partner does in 26 (see comm. on εἰς ... εἰς), and confirms that the preceding history of the first bishops of Philae is primarily intended—except for a small passage at the beginning (29–31), briefly evoked again in 40, which is presented as the story of Macedonius as communicated through Aaron—as Isaac's story of what he heard from Aaron on the secondary level (see comm. on 28, επειδῃ ... [πεπ]σκοπος).

ἀκχνογι 'you have asked me': the manuscript has ἀκταμοι, but as in 82 (comm. on ἀχχνογι) a verb of 'asking' is required and we have thus changed the text.

ἀνεφειοτε δε ρωωϋ † νζενχρημα ἀγστρατεγε μμοϋ ρωωϋ 'As for him, his parents paid money and enlisted him in the army': in one breath, Isaac continues with his story of Aaron (secondary narrative level). Even though the history of the first bishops of Philae is long, it should be recalled that in 28 Isaac has announced that he is going to tell ἐνενταῖναγ εἰσοϋ μῃ νενταῖσοτμοϋ ἡτῃ παειωτ εἰτογᾶαβ ἀπα ζαρων 'the things that I have seen and heard from my holy father Aaron', and after his first story (29–85), no separate introduction to his second story (86–140) is therefore required (see comm. on 28, επειδῃ ... [πεπ]σκοπος). Besides, the beginning of section 3 (86–88) continues Isaac's story of what he has heard from Aaron, while only from 89 Isaac narrates what he has personally seen (see comm. on 89, ναῖ ... ναβαλλ). Cf. with 26, where Pseleusius, after concluding his second story, immediately continues talking about Isaac, though at that point the narration is interrupted as Paphnutius wishes to hear Isaac's story from the holy man himself.

ἀγστρατεγε 'they enlisted him': for this meaning, see LSJ s.v. στρατεύω II and Lampe, PGL s.v. στρατεύω B1.

ἀγω νῳ̄χι ἡ̄σαωφε ἡ̄αννωηνα ἡ̄μμηνε, ἐνεμεφογεμ λααγ ἡ̄ζητοϋ ἀλλα νῳ̄† μμοϋ εἰτῆτολη. ἐνεα νεφειοτε οὔωϋ εἰς ρῃμε ναϋ, ντοϋ δε μπεϋ-

ΟΥΩΩ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ Ζῆ ΟΥΜῆΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΥΧΠΟ ΩΑ ΠΕΥ-  
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ‘He received seven rations a day, but he did not eat any of them  
 and instead gave them to charity. His parents wanted to find a wife for him,  
 but he refused and instead kept his virginity from his birth until his perfec-  
 tion (in death)’: both these sentences have a similar structure. The first clause  
 describes something that Aaron is expected to do (eat daily rations; get mar-  
 ried), the second clause indicates his renunciation of these matters (refusal to  
 eat them; refusal to marry) and the third clause, marked in both cases by ΑΛΛΑ,  
 his opposite behaviour (give the rations to charity; remain a virgin).

ΝῶΧΙ ΝΣΑΩΥΕ ΝΑΝΝΩΝΝΑ ΜΜΗΗΝΕ ‘He received seven rations a day’: the  
 term ἀννῶνα (Latin *annona*, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* [Bar-  
 celona, 1991<sup>2</sup>] 28–29) here refers to the provisions that soldiers receive, see  
 Preisigke, *WB* s.v. ἀννῶνα 1; J. Horn, ‘Latino-Coptica. Erwägungen zu den latei-  
 nischen Lehnwörtern des koptischen Wortschatzes’, in *Atti del XVII congresso  
 internazionale di papirologia*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1984) 1361–1376 at 1370–1371; För-  
 ster, *WB* s.v. For a comprehensive study of the *annona militaris* in Late Antique  
 Egypt, see F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris. Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken  
 Ägypten*, 2 vols (Florence, 2001), in particular vol. 1, pp. 231–236, where the aver-  
 age daily ration for a soldier is set at 1,5 to 2 *annonae*. The much higher amount  
 that Aaron receives likely indicates that he was an officer, which seems in line  
 with the fact that his parents pay for him to enter the army and are apparently  
 well-off (see also comm. on 127, ΜΗ ... ΕΡΟΥ;).

ΝΤΟΛΗ ‘charity’: see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἐντολή 2; J. Drescher, ‘Graeco-Coptica’,  
*Muséon* 82 (1969) 85–100 at 85–86 (citing our text at p. 86).

ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ Ζῆ ΟΥΜῆΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΥΧΠΟ ΩΑ ΠΕΥΧΩΚ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ‘instead (he) kept his virginity from his birth until his perfection (in  
 death)’: the same is said of Pseleusius (4) and Zachaeus (18, with comm. ad  
 loc.).

ΩΑ ΠΕΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ‘until his perfection (in death)’: see comm. on 15, ΩΑ ...  
 ΕΒΟΛ.

87. ΑΠΟΡΔΙΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΤΡῶΧΙΤΟΥ ΝῶΒΩΚ ΝῆΜΑΥ ‘And  
 it was the turn of Apa Aaron to take and dispatch it’: ΠΟΡΔΙΝΟΝ (from Latin  
*ordo*) in combination with ΤΑΖΟ means ‘it is someone’s turn’ (Förster, *WB* s.v.  
 ὅρδινον), cf. e.g. the *Martyrdom of Victor the General*, fol. 2b (ed. Budge, *Coptic  
 Martyrdoms*, 4), ΑΠΟΡΔΙΝΟΝ ΜΠΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΤΡΦΟΥΣΙΑΖΕ ‘it was the turn  
 of his son to sacrifice’. The antecedent of ΕΤΡῶΧΙΤΟΥ ΝῶΒΩΚ ΝῆΜΑΥ ‘to take  
 and dispatch it’ is ΖΕΝΣΖΑΙ ΕΝΑ ΠῆΡΟ ΝΕ ‘an imperial letter’ (for the plural, see  
 comm. on 64, Ζῆ ΝΕΥΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ), not some implied (but never mentioned)  
 soldiers, as previous translators have thought, see Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic  
 Texts*, 987; Campagnano and Orlandi, *Vite*, 104; Vivian, *Paphnutius*, 115. Aaron is

thus appointed courier and leaves the city alone, which naturally leads into the ensuing encounter with a lion on the road (cf. the pagarchy as an explanation for Macedonius being in the south in 29, with comm. on ετ]! ... νειπολις).

αγω πεχαρ νοι παικαιος ‘and the righteous man said’: introduces the tertiary narrative level. In the same way as in the passages when we look through Macedonius’ eyes (29–31, 40; see comm. on 28, επειδη ... [πεπ]σκοπος, 31, ντερβωκ ... σαρνε, and 40, αιμοουε ... πεχαρ), the eyewitness account of Aaron adds liveliness to his story. The first person narrative is maintained at the beginning of 88 by the similar formula πεχαρ δε νοι πιετογααβ απα ζαρων ‘the holy Apa Aaron said’ and continues until the end of Aaron’s story, before going back to primary level in 89 (comm. on ναι ... ναβαλλ).

πμογι μη ταρζ πεκρμα[λ] αφατασε μοου ‘Your servant has killed lions and bears’: as he encounters a lion on the road, Aaron remembers the words that David says to Saul in 1Sam. 17:36 (the manuscript edited by Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* 1, 174 has πενταφα-τασε instead of αφατασε, while C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*, vol. 4 [Leipzig, 1914] 71 has the same text) to persuade him that with God’s help he will win the combat against Goliath. Not only does the success of the biblical protagonist against these wild beasts inspire confidence in Aaron, their comparison with Goliath also predicts the outcome of the upcoming fight. This becomes clear from the following words that Aaron speaks, [εκ]ω[αν]τ μηιωριον ερραι ενασιλ ‘if you deliver this wild beast into my hands’, which is an adaptation of 1Sam. 17:46, where David says to Goliath before the battle, φαταακ ερραι ενασιλ μοου ‘he (i.e. the Lord) will deliver you into my hands today’ (ed. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* 1, 175). In this case, Aaron does not face a man who is compared to lions and bears, but an actual lion. Moreover, the confident words by David are turned into a pledge by Aaron that if he wins against the wild beast, he will renounce everything and become a monk.

88. αιβοτν εβολ: read αιβογτν εβολ ‘I stretched out’. For the fairly common interchange of οογτν and οβτν, see J. Drescher, ‘The Dictionary: Still Further Notes and Comments’, *BSAC* 19 (1967–1968) 229–233 at 231, who cites e.g. *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 5a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 208), αιβοβτν (read αιβοογτν) ντφσιλ εβολ ‘he stretched out his hand’.

αγω ντεγνογ μηεκτοι επιολις κκεσι αλλα διβωκ κεεπολις ετρι πα-ρηνς μοι κκεωμοντ νροογ μοοουε ‘And at that moment I did not return to the city anymore but I went to another city, a further three days’ journey south of me’: the remark in 87 that he has to dispatch a letter to another city (from city A to B) is surely relevant here. Following his encounter with the lion, Aaron refuses to return to his unit in city A, and instead goes to a third place (city C)

to pursue his destiny. Together with the sentence in 86, ἀνεχείριστε δε ζωοῦ † νῆενκρημα ἀγστράτεγε ἡμοῦ ζωοῦ ‘As for him, his parents paid money and enlisted him in the army’, the sentence here can be seen as having a similar, tripartite structure as the two subsequent sentences in 86, which describe Aaron’s renunciation of the *annona* and marriage (comm. on ἀγῶ ... ἐβολ). The first part, the sentence in 86, pronounces what his parents expect him to do (pursue a career in the army), the second part, the first clause in the present sentence, denotes his renunciation of that matter (refusal to return to the army), and the third part, the second clause of this sentence, which is marked by ἀλλὰ, his opposite behaviour (go somewhere else). Here it is thus the army that Aaron renounces, and therewith his parents.

ΤΑΚΑΜΙΣΕ ‘my tunic’: a καμίσιον (Latin *camisia*, see Daris, *Lessico latino*, 48–49) is a shirt (cf. French *chemise*) or piece of clothing. For the term in the Greek papyri, see J. Kramer, ‘Zur Rolle von Papyrusbelegen für die Wortgeschichte am Beispiel von *camisia* und καμάσιον/καμίσιον’, *AfP* 40 (1994) 133–142 (repr. with revisions as ‘Κάμασσον, καμάσιον, καμίσιον/*camis(i)a*’, in idem, *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik* [Berlin, 2011] 195–205); J. O’Callaghan, ‘La palabra “camisa” en los papiros griegos’, *Aegyptus* 76 (1996) 51–55; M. Mossakowska-Gaubert, ‘Tunics Worn in Egypt in Roman and Byzantine Times: The Greek Vocabulary’, in S. Gaspa, C. Michel, M.-L. Nosch (eds), *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD* (Lincoln, 2017) 321–345 at 325–327, in Coptic papyri, Förster, *WB* s.v., who lists several spellings including ΚΑΜΙΣΕ. Even if these attestations indicate that the καμίσιον was also worn by civilians, in our text it is clearly part of what Aaron wears as a soldier, as he exchanges it for a civilian dress (see next entry). We have translated it here as ‘tunic’.

ΝΟΥΓῚḂḲΩ ΜΠΑΓΑΝΟΣ ‘a civilian dress’: the new dress (ῚḂḲΩ) that Aaron buys contrasts with the καμίσιον ‘tunic’ that he has just sold among his military gear. The term παγανός (from Latin *paganus*, see Daris, *Lessico latino*, 83) is therefore clearly used here in its main sense of ‘civilian’ as opposed to ‘military’, LSJ, Preisigke, *WB* and Lampe, *PGL* s.v. παγανός 1; for a general survey of the meaning of *paganus* and its connection with παγανός in Late Antique sources, see A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011) 14–32.

ΔΙΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΗΤ ΔΙ† ΕΧΩΙ ΜΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ ΜΗΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ Ὶḡ ΠΗΔ ΕΤῚΜΑΥ ‘I went to the desert of Scetis and put on the monastic habit there’: Scetis (Wadi Natrun) was one of most famous monastic centres in Egypt, see H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi ‘n Natrûn*, 3 vols (New York, 1926–1933); A. Cody, ‘Scetis’, in *Copt. Enc.* VII (1991) 2102–2126; M.S.A. Mikhail, M. Moussa (eds), *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi al-Natrun* (Cairo, 2009). Because of its fame, it could be well imagined that the author let his main hero start

his monastic career there to increase his sanctity, cf. Bishop Porphyry of Gaza, who is also said to have become a monk at Scetis, v. *Porph.* 4 (p. 4 Grégoire and Kugener). See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 248.

ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁ: the ⲥ is corrected, but it is unclear whether from ⲓ, ⲟ or another letter with a vertical.

89–97. *Having reported Aaron's story of how he entered the monastic life, Isaac continues with his personal reminiscences of the man, which take in the rest of the work (89–137). In this particular passage, he tells the story of his first encounter with the holy man and the way in which he instructed him into the monastic life, which, as noted by Dijkstra, Philae and the End, 239, is structurally close to Pseleusius' two stories in section 1 (4–9, 10–25): we hear about Isaac's background and calling to the monastic life (89, cf. 4–5, 12–13), his first meeting with his master in the desert (90–91, cf. 6, 14), how he receives the monastic clothes and is instructed by him (92, cf. 8, 17–22) and the ascetic practices of Aaron (92–94, cf. 6–7, 14–16, 18). As can be seen, the story of Aaron differs in that the elements of clothing the disciple in the monastic habit and his instruction precede a characterization of the master's ascetic deeds (though, similar to 18, the description of Aaron's practices leads to further instruction in 93–94). Another difference is that the master does not accompany his disciple to a place of his own (cf. 9, 23–24), as Aaron—besides his ascetic endeavours in the desert—never leaves Isaac. Nonetheless, the instruction that the disciples receive in Pseleusius' stories of how to deal with demons is enlarged here (95–97). In fact, the first demon story in this passage is intertwined with the story illustrating Aaron's ascetic practices, since Isaac only decides to look for Aaron in the desert when he is troubled by demons (93). In the second demon story, both Aaron and Isaac are visited by demons in their dwelling (95). The demonic encounter in turn inspires Aaron to tell a third demon story about a certain brother who encounters a demon with a golden staff in the desert. Upon Isaac's request to reveal the identity of the brother, Aaron admits that he himself is that brother (96–97).*

89. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, ⲛ[ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲧⲙⲟϥ] ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲓ  
ⲙⲡⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲁⲣⲱ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲥⲓⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲓⲭⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲃⲓ(ⲛ)ⲁⲡⲟ{ⲥ}ⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ.  
ⲙⲏ̅ⲛⲥⲱⲥ ⲟⲛ, ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛⲱⲗ 'ⲛⲗ ⲉⲭⲱⲓ, ⲧⲛⲁⲭⲱ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲏ̅ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲉ̅ⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ  
'I have heard these things that I have told you, my brother Paphnutius, from my  
father Apa Aaron after I begged him to tell me about his renunciation from the  
world. Furthermore, if you pray for me, I shall also tell you the things that I have  
seen with my own eyes': once more, we return to the primary level. Having con-  
tinued fairly quickly from the history of the first bishops of Philae (29–85) to  
another story that he heard from Aaron (86–88), after finishing it Isaac explains  
that he had heard this story from Aaron when he begged him to tell him how



he became a monk. The first sentence thus frames 86–88, just as  $\alpha\iota\varsigma\bar{\iota}\kappa\bar{\omega}\pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\epsilon\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\chi\omega$   $\epsilon\rho'\omicron'\iota$   $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta$  ‘I begged him to tell me about the things that he had seen and had happened before his time’ in 28 frames 29–85 (see comm. on 28,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$  ... [ $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota$ ]σκοπος). It also functions as a transition from the story that Isaac heard from Aaron (86–88, and before that 29–85) to what he saw with his own eyes, which is introduced by the second sentence. Isaac’s personal experiences with Aaron, narrated on the secondary level, constitute the remainder of his second story (89–137).

$\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$   $\alpha\eta$   $\eta\kappa\omega\upsilon$   $\eta$   $\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma$ ,  $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$   $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta\kappa\alpha$   $\eta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\eta\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\alpha\chi\bar{\eta}$   $\eta\kappa\omega\iota$ ,  $\eta\bar{\eta}\mu\pi\omega\alpha$   $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$   $\alpha\eta$  “Whoever will not forsake father or mother”—and the rest that follows—“and follow me, is not worthy of me”: the first part quotes the beginning of Matt. 10:37, though the verb in the original formulation  $\pi\epsilon\tau\mu\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$   $\eta$   $\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma$   $\epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\iota$  ‘whoever loves father or mother more than me’ is changed into  $\kappa\omega$   $\eta\kappa\omega\varsigma$  ‘forsake’, which fits better into the context of renunciation, and the second part the end of Matt. 10:38, with the interjection  $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\pi\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$   $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta\kappa\alpha$   $\eta\alpha\iota$  ‘and the rest that follows’/‘etcetera’ indicating that the intermittent parts have been left out. Cf. 12, where both verses are quoted in fuller form and similarly incite Anianus and Paul to become monks.

90.  $\epsilon\phi\pi\omicron\lambda\gamma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  ‘(that) he lived the monastic life’: see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$  D3; Funk, ‘Πόλις, πολίτης und πολιτεία im Koptischen’, 308–309.

$\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  ‘the Valley’: see comm. on 37,  $\pi\alpha\alpha$ .

$\epsilon\eta\epsilon$   $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$   $\gamma\alpha\rho$   $\pi\epsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma$  ‘for that day was a weekday’:  $\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$  is a weekday here, as also appears from 93. For the discussion on its exact meaning, see Crum, *Dict.* 501b–502a, with xxiii; W.C. Till, ‘Neue koptische Wochentagsbezeichnungen’, *Or.* 16 (1947) 130–135, who at p. 134 assumes that  $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$  here and in 93 means ‘Thursday’, which does not make any sense in this context; J. Drescher, ‘A Coptic Lectionary Fragment’, *ASAE* 51 (1951) 247–256; G. Mattha, ‘*Temporis intervallum*’, *ASAE* 51 (1951) 261–263; Westendorf, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch* 282; A. Łajtar, *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek)* (Leuven, 2003) 174–175. What the phrase therefore implies is that Isaac waits at Aaron’s doorstep for so long because it was a weekday (as we say, ‘during the week’), that is, not a Saturday or Sunday when Aaron is expected to be home.

$\eta\alpha$   $\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\eta\tau$   $\mu\eta\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\eta$  ‘for about three miles’: cf. 39, where Macedonius travels the same distance from the Valley into the desert to look for his disciples and finds them  $\chi\alpha$   $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$  ‘below a hilltop’, while Isaac encounters his master  $\chi\alpha$   $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$   $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$  ‘below a rocky hilltop’ (see the next entry).

$\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon\chi\omicron\gamma\eta$   $\chi\alpha$   $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$   $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ : literally ‘leading to below a rocky hilltop’, translated here as ‘leading to the foot of a rocky hilltop’. For the meaning of  $\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$ , that is,  $\kappa\omicron\omicron\varsigma$  ‘(hill) top’, see comm. on 13,  $\pi\kappa\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ . Cf. 39, [ $\epsilon$ ]  $\gamma\eta\eta\chi\chi$   $\chi\alpha$

ογκοοζ ἡτοογ ‘lying below a hilltop’, 96, ρα ογκοοζ ητοογ ‘below a hilltop’ and, especially, 130, ϣαϣβωκ ερογ(η) ρα ρενρο <η>κοοζ ηπετρα εγωδβ ‘he went to the foot of some cold rocky hilltops’ (with comm. ad loc.).

91. εκνηγ των, παωηρε, ηπειμα; ‘Where are you going in this place, my son?’: as appears from Isaac’s answer, Aaron is not asking him where he has come from but what his purpose is.

ειογωγ ρωωτ ετρκαατ ημονοχος ραρηκ ‘I would like you to let me be a monk with you’: practically the same words are found in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*, where Pachomius first encounters his master Palemon and says, ειογωγ ερεκαατ ηταερμοναχος ηατοτκ παιωτ ‘I would like you to let me be a monk with you, my father’ (ed. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta*, 8; cf. the parallel first Greek *Life of Pachomius* 6, which has a slightly different wording: ‘Ερωτῶ σε, πάτερ, ποιήσόν με μοναχόν ‘I ask you, father, make me a monk’, ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* [Brussels, 1932] 4). Palemon’s answer that the monastic life is not easy and Pachomius’ insistence that this is the life he is looking for, also remind of the first encounter between Aaron and Isaac. The same turn of phrase is found in the *Life of Hilaria* (ed. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends*, 5), where the Emperor Zeno’s daughter Hilaria, disguised as a high military official, travels to Scetis and asks the ascetic Pambo τoγωγ παιωτ ετρεκαατ ημοναχος ταδω ραθηκ ‘My father, I would like you to make me a monk and to stay with you’. The request is again followed by Pambo’s warning about the hardships of monasticism and Hilaria’s persistence. Apparently, then, the scene was something of a *topos* in monastic literature.

ηταιει ερραι επειμα ετβε πειρωβ, ω παειωτ ετογδαβ, εωωπε τηναωχοκῃ εβολ ηῖρ πηα ηῖμαι ‘My holy father, I have come here for this reason, if I shall be able to accomplish it and you show me mercy!’: answers Aaron’s initial question of what he is doing in this place (see entry above). At first uncertain about his purpose (ἡταιωωρῃ ‘I am lost’), Aaron puts him at ease (ητακωωρῃ αν ‘you are not lost’), and then explains to him what the monastic life entails. Having heard this, despite the hardships that Aaron warns him about, Isaac now answers with confidence that it is this way of life that he is seeking. Isaac’s journey into the desert thus becomes a metaphor for his spiritual journey.

εωχε: the manuscript has εκχε, perhaps under influence of following ακρη.

92. ητερῆμογτε ερογν ‘when we announced ourselves’: see comm. on 66, αγω ... ἡνεσνηγ.

ρμοος ρακ ρῖ πειμα ‘stay here’: cf. Layton, *Coptic Grammar* §181g who cites this phrase as an example of ρα as an expansion element (comparable to an ethical dative in Greek) and translates it with ‘just sit down here’.

ενῖπολυτεγε ‘and perform his ascetic practices’: cf. 90, εῖπολυτεγε ‘(that) he lived the monastic life’ (with comm. ad loc.).

93. The second time in which Isaac comes out from the Valley to look for Aaron he finds him in the same spot in the desert, again carrying a large stone. This time, however, the conditions are even more unforgiving, as it is the hot season and Aaron exposes himself to the sun, while standing in the burning sand. A similar story is found in the Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius* (ed. Amélineau, *Étude*, 75–77), in which Pesynthius also goes out into the desert in the season of the inundation (ed. Amélineau, *Étude*, 75,  $\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$   $\mu\mu\omega\omicron\upsilon\gamma$   $\mu\eta\omicron\gamma$   $\epsilon\rho\eta\iota$   $\mu\eta\eta\tau\upsilon$  ‘in the season in which the water rose’, cf. our text,  $\mu\epsilon$   $\mu\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma$   $\mu\mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma$  ‘it was the season of the Nile inundation’) and stands in the sand with a large stone tied to his neck, in his case to learn the Psalter by heart. At a later moment, a monk comes looking for him and finds him in such a state that  $\gamma\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$   $\mu\mu\omega\mu\iota$   $\mu\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon\gamma\beta\alpha\lambda$   $\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\mu\kappa\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\gamma\omega\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\text{-}\phi\omega\rho\kappa$   $\mu\kappa\epsilon\iota$   $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  ‘through the weight of the stone his eyes were filled with blood as if they would burst and come out’ (ed. Amélineau, *Étude*, 76; cf. in our text  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon\gamma\beta\alpha\lambda$   $\gamma\omega\mu$   $\epsilon\mu\omega\rho\bar{\kappa}$  ‘and his eyes were about to burst’). Just like Isaac, the monk then asks Pesynthius why he chooses to undergo such severe hardships. Whereas Pesynthius answers at length (ed. Amélineau, *Étude*, 77–80), Aaron at first avoids the question and instead asks Isaac why he has come to him; once this is settled and only after Isaac has asked him again, in 94, does he give the answer.

$\mu\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$  ‘a weekday’: see comm. on 90,  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  ...  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\tau}\mu\alpha\gamma$ .

$\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota$  ‘to bother’:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\chi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  is basically synonymous here with  $\dagger\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$  ‘to trouble’; for the verb, see LSJ s.v.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\chi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  1, Preisigke, *WB* s.v.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\chi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  3 and Förster, *WB* s.v., who lists this spelling.

$\alpha\iota\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$   $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\sigma\tau$   $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$   $\gamma\bar{\eta}$   $\mu\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$   $\omega\alpha$   $\mu\mu\alpha$   $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\gamma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$   $\mu\mu\omega\rho\bar{\iota}$   $\mu\kappa\mu\omicron\gamma$  ‘I rose and ventured into the desert to the place where I had found him the first time’: that is, about three miles into the desert  $\gamma\alpha$   $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\omega\gamma$   $\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$  ‘below a rocky hilltop’ (see comm. on 90,  $\mu\alpha$   $\omega\mu\bar{\eta}\tau$   $\mu\mu\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\mu$  and  $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omega\kappa$  ...  $\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$ ).

$\chi\epsilon$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\mu\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma$   $\mu\mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma$  ‘for it was the season of the Nile inundation’: for the similar description in the Bohairic *Encomium on Pesynthius*, see above. The Nile began to rise in late July and the season of the inundation lasted until late November, see Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 20–21. For the inundation, see comm. on 66,  $\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ .

$\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$   $\mu\alpha\mu\omega\gamma\beta\alpha$   $\epsilon\{\tau\}$   $\omicron\eta\mu$   $\mu\epsilon$ ,  $\omega$   $\mu\alpha\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$  ‘In reality they are invisible Nubians, my son’: Isaac is deceived into thinking that real Nubians ( $\mu\alpha\mu\omega\gamma\beta\alpha$  ‘the Nubians’), as we have seen part of everyday life in the Cataract region and frequently mentioned in our text (comm. on 44,  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\mu\omega\gamma\beta\alpha$ ), pestered him but his master unmasks them as demons. For the Ethiopian (Nubian) demon, a favourite *topos* in Egyptian monastic literature developed out of the Devil’s visit to Antony in the form of a black boy (Ath. v. *Anton.* 6 [sc 400, pp. 146–148]), see

D. Brakke, 'Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self', *JHSex* 10 (2001) 501–535, and *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006) 157–181.

94. *νειπολυτᾶ* 'these ascetic practices': for this meaning of *πολιτεία*, see *ἡνεπολυτᾶ* 'his ascetic practices' as mentioned in comm. on 66, A: *αϣ|ογω-ϣβ ... εβολ*.

*πρῆλλο ναμε* 'the true old man': just like Athanasius is *ππατριαρχης ναμε* 'the true patriarch' (30).

*ნ-ჩნაღჲ ლააღ ან ეროკ, პაღჳრე, ზნ ნეტეკჳინე ნცოფ* 'I shall not hide from you, my son, anything you ask': cf. the similar words spoken by Pseleusius in 10, when Paphnutius begs him to tell more, *επειδ᾽ ἡ ἀκῳινε ἱναταμοκ ἀγω μῆ ἁααღ ჳჳი ეროკ* 'Since you have asked, I shall tell you, though nothing is hidden from you'.

*ტეხმალჳცია* 'the captivity': see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *αἰχμαλωσία* 1; Förster, *WB* s.v. lists this spelling.

*ნᄁποლγτεγε* 'he lived his ascetic life': cf. 90, *ეჳპოლγτεγε* '(that) he lived the monastic life' (with comm. ad loc.); 92, *ენᄁპოლγτεγε* 'and perform his ascetic practices'.

95. *პეია* 'the Valley': see comm. on 37, *პა*.

*ანღაიმონიონ ეიρε ოგფანტაცია* 'the demons made an appearance': for *φαντασία* in the sense of '(unreal) appearance', see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *φαντασία* 1, though in its combination with *ειρε* another meaning is also present, that of 'parade, show', see LSJ s.v. *φαντασία* 4; J. Drescher, 'Graeco-Coptica II', *Muséon* 83 (1970) 139–155 at 152–154. Both connotations are included in our translation 'to make an appearance'. Cf. e.g. Ath. v. *Anton.* 13.4 (SC 400, p. 170), *οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγε τοὺς δαίμονας φαντασίας ποίειν κατὰ τῶν δειλιῶντων* "for," he said, "the demons make such appearances to those who are afraid". For the term *φαντασία* in connection with demons in the *Life of Antony*, see O. Munnich, 'Les démons d'Antoine dans la *Vie d'Antoine*', in P. Walter (ed.), *Saint Antoine entre mythe et légende* (Grenoble, 1996) 95–110 at 100–103; Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk*, 39–41; M. Houle, 'The Practice of Exorcism in Egyptian Monasticism: A Popular Panacea? On the Reconciliation of Hagiographical and Magical Texts', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 7 (2015) 49–60 at 56.

*ნტაცჳე ἡნ(ვ)ლერჳმოოჳე* 'in the language of the Blemmyes': like the Nubians/Noubades (comm. on 44, *ჳენანოჳბა*), the Blemmyes are commonly associated with the Cataract region in Late Antiquity. Originally from the Eastern Desert, they are known to have settled in the region south of the Egyptian frontier (the Dodekaschoinos) in the late fourth and fifth centuries, from where they regularly visited Philae, together with the Noubades, to venerate Isis (see comm. on 29, *პეილაკ*). They become marginalized in the sixth cen-

tury, when they are mainly located again in the Eastern Desert, though raids into the Nile valley continue to be reported. This reality is reflected in fifth- and sixth-century Christian literature, where Blemmyan raids are a recurrent theme (hence no doubt Isaac's frightened remark in the next sentence, ἀνβελζμοοὺς εἰ ἐπον 'The Blemmyes have come to us!'). Their identification with demons is also found in the *Life of Moses*, written after 550, where the holy man faces the Devil ἐὰν περ μοι νογέσῃ ἐχθρός ἐρεοῦμην ἡ δαίμωνιον οὐκ ἔσται ἐμφορεῖ νῦν μακρὸς καὶ ἡγεθὼς νέμβελζμοῦ 'after he had taken on the appearance of a tall Nubian, with a host of demons following him who carried spears like the people of the Blemmyes' (ed. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* 2, 50, with Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk*, 163). For the Blemmyes, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 131–173, 'Blemmyes, Noubades and the Eastern Desert', 'Blemmyes', in R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 2012) 1145–1146, and 'I Silko Came to Talmis and Taphis'. Cf. C. Barthel, 'Eine *origo gentis Blemmyorum* in den *Dionysiaka* des Nonnos von Panopolis', *Tyche* 29 (2014) 1–15.

The language of the Blemmyes is considered as a forerunner of Bedauye, the language of modern Beja, see H. Satzinger, 'Die Personennamen von Blemmyern in koptischen und griechischen Texten: Orthographische und phonetische Analyse', in E. Ebermann, E.R. Sommerauer and K.E. Thomanek (eds), *Komparative Afrikanistik. Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags* (Vienna, 1992) 313–324; G.M. Browne, *Textus blemmyicus aetatis christianae* (Champaign, IL, 2003), and 'Blemmyes and Beja', *CR* 54 (2004) 226–228; H. Satzinger, 'Some More Remarks on Old Bedauye', in S.M. Bay (ed.), *Studia Palaeophilologica professoris G.M. Browne in honorem oblatam* (Champaign, IL, 2004) 1–5, and 'The "Barbarian" Names on the Third-Century Ostraka from Xeron', in Dijkstra and Fisher, *Inside and Out*, 199–212.

ἡν(β)λεζμοοὺς: the scribe corrected an (unfinished) β to η, then forgot to write a β again. For the different spellings of the word in Coptic, here βλεζμοοὺς and in the next sentence βελζμοοὺς, see Crum, *Dict.* 38b.

πῆλαγιος δὲ ἀφείμεν ἡμῖν πεπν(εῦν)α καὶ ζενδαίμωνιον καὶ 'But the holy man knew through the Spirit that they were demons': again Isaac identifies the demons as real people, in this case Blemmyes, but his master sees through the masquerade (see comm. on 93, ἀληθὺς ... παρῴρη).

96. καὶ πολλὰ ἄνθρωποι ποιοῦσι καὶ δαίμωνιον; 'Do the demons then take on many forms?', with Aaron's following (affirmative) answer: cf. 23, in which Zachaeus teaches Anianus and Paul εἰς ἑτέρε δαίμονων παραζέ [ἡν]ρωμεν ἡμῶς καὶ οὕτως ἡ [αὐτοῦ] 'how the demons tempt men in many forms'.

ΞΑ ΟΥΚΟΟΞ ΝΤΟΟΥ ‘below a hilltop’: as it turns out that the brother is Aaron himself, this may well be the ‘rocky hilltop’ about three miles into the desert where Isaac first encounters the holy man in 90 (comm. on ΝΑ ΘΩΜΗΤ ΜΗΛΙΟΝ and ΕΥΘΩΚ ... ΜΠΕΤΡΑ) and to which he returns to look for him when bothered by demons in 93 (comm. on ΔΙΤΩΟΥΝ ... ΝΣΟΠ). Cf. 39, [Ε]ΥΝΗΧ ΞΑ ΟΥΚΟΟΞ ΝΤΟΟΥ ‘lying below a hilltop’ (with comm. ad loc.). For the meaning ‘hilltop’, see comm. on 13, ΠΚΟΟΞ.

ΕΝΕ ΠΑΣΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΩΜ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΙΩ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΙΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΞΡΑΙ ‘(while) it was the sixth day that I had not eaten, drunk or sat down’: cf. Mark and Isaiah, who also go without food and drink for six days before Macedonius finds them ‘below a hilltop’ (see previous entry) in 39.

ΧΡΟ ΜΗ’Ο’Κ, Ω ΠΩΘΕΙΧ ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΤΑΦΜΙΩΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ ‘Stand firm, athlete of Christ, who has competed well’: cf. 4, ΕΩΩ[Π]Ε ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΡΩΔΗΝ ΟΥΑ Ρ ΘΩΘΕΙΧ ΜΕΦΧΙ ΚΛΟΜ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΦΜΙΩΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ ‘and again, when someone is an athlete, he will not be crowned unless he competes well’, quoting 2 Tim. 2:5. For asceticism as an athletic contest, see comm. on 14, ΑΘΛΗΣΙΣ.

97. ΘΩΩΥΤ, ΜΠΡΧΟΟΣ ΝΛΑΔΥ ‘See that you do not tell anyone’: same words in Matt. 8:4 (cf. Mark 1:44; Luke 5:14), where Jesus instructs the leper not to tell anyone about his healing.

*98–136. While he had previously reported the miracle of the camel’s leg (44–47), performed by Isaiah at the instigation of Macedonius, the latter’s healing of the old woman (53) and Psoulousia’s miracle of the baptismal font (84), for Aaron Isaac includes a catalogue of no less than seventeen miracles, thus highlighting his sanctity. As observed by Dijkstra, Philae and the End, 240, these all follow the same pattern: a crisis situation in daily life impels a person or persons to seek the help of the holy man; he addresses the situation, usually in the more elaborate stories after delivering a short edifying speech or prayer(s), and a miracle takes place; the person(s) render(s) thanks to God, the holy man or both. In principle each story stands on its own, but there are also several connections between them: the first two miracles begin similarly and are both about a father whose only son has died (98–100, 101–102), and two stories at the end concern the Nile inundation (131, 132–134); the miracle of the man with gout (116) is directly linked to the previous story of the poor man and the rich man (109–115), as the man belongs to the rich man’s household; to the miracle of the fishermen (119–122), two further miracles, each taking in just one sentence, are appended (122); and in two miracles, the miracle of the barren mother (at 124) and the possessed man (at 127), a reference is even made back to previous stories, the miracle of the stillborn boy (105–108) and the poor man and the rich man (109–115). The miracles also provide the opportunity to tell something more about Aaron’s way of life. In 118, a descrip-*

tion of Aaron's handiwork activities leads into a miracle, as the owner of a vineyard buys rope from him and it yields a remarkable produce. And to the miracle of the possessed man an anecdotal story about Aaron's rejection of material possessions is added (129), followed by another anecdote, this one without any relation to the previous miracle but elaborating on the description of Aaron's ascetic practices in 92–94 (130). As with the healing of the old woman (comm. on 53), the stories resonate with biblical allusions, especially in Aaron's speeches and prayers, and exhibit the stereotypical features of the Late Antique holy man, who heals and drives out demons, rebukes the rich and helps out the poor. At the same time, the stories are placed in a definitive regional context—Aaron's clientele is formed by Nubians and other people from the region—and no doubt reflect some of the basic concerns of everyday life, such as the danger of crocodiles (98–100), accidents at work (a labourer falling out a tree, 103–104; the loss of a draft animal, 117), and an exceptionally late Nile inundation (131, 132–134). See Dijkstra, Philae and the End, 332–333.

98.  $\bar{\eta}\sigma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ :  $\gamma$  is corrected, perhaps from an unfinished  $\omega$ .

$\bar{\eta}\nu\epsilon\varphi\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'his limbs': the manuscript has  $\bar{\eta}\nu\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$  'his bodies', perhaps under influence of  $\mu\pi\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$  later on in the sentence, but clearly body parts are meant.

$\alpha\varphi\iota\lambda\gamma\tau\epsilon\iota$  ...  $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\lambda\gamma\tau\eta$  '(he) injured' ... 'the wounds': from Greek  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{o}\omega$  'to wound' (Lampe, *PGL* s.v.) and  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  'wound' (Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  B; Förster, *WB* s.v.  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$  1, with another variant spelling), respectively.

99.  $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\omega\kappa$   $\Delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\iota\sigma\bar{\eta}$   $\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa$   $\epsilon\varphi\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma$   $\epsilon\pi(\epsilon\varphi)\epsilon\iota\omega$   $\epsilon\varphi\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$   $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\nu}$  'When I went out, I found a man from Philae riding his donkey, who was on his way to Aswan': the ancient road between Philae and Aswan (Fig. 2) was flanked by a massive mud brick wall dating back to the Middle Kingdom, H. Jaritz, 'The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae. First Preliminary Report', *MDAIK* 43 (1986) 67–74; H. Jaritz, M. Rodziewicz, 'The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae. Second Preliminary Report', *MDAIK* 49 (1993) 107–132; Locher, *Nilkatarakt*, 114–120; Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 28–29. That donkeys were used on this road appears from an ostrakon from Elephantine (*O.Berl.* 49.1–2; end of second/beginning of third century), which mentions an  $\omicron\eta\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\omicron\delta\omicron\omega$   $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$  'donkey-driver of the road from Philae'. Since the road runs through the plain at the beginning of the wadi north-east of Philae and is apparently not far from Aaron's dwelling, this passage confirms the identification of the wadi with the Valley (comm. on 37,  $\pi\iota\alpha$ ).

$\kappa\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota$  ...; 'do you know ...?': for the form  $\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota$ , see comm. on 16,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\omicron\iota$   $\Delta\bar{\nu}$ .

$\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\lambda\gamma\tau\eta$  ...  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\lambda\gamma\tau\eta$ ; 'the wounds' ... 'did you get injured?': see comm. on 98,  $\alpha\varphi\iota\lambda\gamma\tau\epsilon\iota$  ...  $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\lambda\gamma\tau\eta$ .

101.  $\text{μεζ } \bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$  ‘being covered with dust’: the manuscript has  $\text{μεζ } \epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}$ , confusing the stative of  $\text{μογζ} + \bar{\eta}$ - +  $\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$  with the expression  $\text{μεζ}$  (bound state)  $\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$  ‘look intently’ (Crum, *Dict.* 73b).

103.  $\text{σ}\alpha\pi\eta$  ‘cup’, spelled  $\text{σ}\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota$  in 122: for the various spellings of this word, see Crum, *Dict.* 825b (including both examples from our text); cf. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 345; Westendorf, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch* 463.

104.  $\text{Δ}\eta\eta\eta\epsilon \text{ } \eta\alpha\iota \text{ } \eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota \text{ } \eta\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma \dots \text{Δ}\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta} \text{ } \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \eta\alpha\gamma \text{ } \alpha\gamma\varsigma\phi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\epsilon \text{ } \eta\eta\omicron\gamma$  ‘bring me some water’ ... ‘I brought it to him. He made the sign of the cross over it’: cf. the similar description of the healing of the camel’s leg in 46, where Macedonius says to Isaiah  $\text{Δ}\eta\eta\eta\epsilon \text{ } \eta\alpha\iota \text{ } \eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota \text{ } \eta\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma \text{ } \eta\bar{\eta} \text{ } \tau\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\eta\eta$  ‘bring me some water in the basin’,  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\eta} \text{ } \eta\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$  ‘he brought it to him’ and  $\alpha(\gamma)\varsigma\phi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\epsilon \text{ } \eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$  ‘he made the sign of the cross over it’ (though here it is Isaiah who crosses and it is the leg that gets crossed).

105.  $\chi\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ : the manuscript has  $\chi\omicron\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ , turning round the last two letters. For  $\chi\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}$ , read  $\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  ‘(it) got stuck’. Crum’s two entries of  $\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  and  $\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  are confusing, as our passage is quoted under  $\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  ‘to fail (of eyesight)’ (*Dict.* 792b, corresponding to Greek  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ ), but the most relevant parallel is found under  $\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  (=  $\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ ) ‘to pierce’ (*Dict.* 834b). This is a passage from Shenoute’s *Because of You Too, O Prince of Evil* (ed. É. Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti* [Cairo, 1911] 27; for the work, see S. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, vol. 2 [Leuven, 2004] 621), where the Devil is addressed as a man-eater:  $\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma \text{ } \omicron\eta \text{ } \eta\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta} \text{ } \eta\eta \text{ } \tau\epsilon\kappa\omega\gamma\omega\beta\epsilon \text{ } \eta\pi\kappa\epsilon\omega\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\omicron\eta \text{ } \epsilon\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ } \eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \kappa\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$  ‘blessed are those who got stuck in your throat as you could not swallow them because of their heavy bones’. There appears, then, to be a third meaning of the verb  $\chi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  ‘to get blocked, stuck’ (from Middle Egyptian *ddh*, Demotic *dth*, see Erman and Grapow, *WB* s.v. *ddh* 6–12, Erichsen, *Glossar* s.v. *dth* [pp. 688–689]). The same event is referred to in 124 using the more common verb  $\varsigma\omega\gamma\tau$  ‘to be impeded, stopped’.

106.  $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$  ‘gift’: for this meaning of  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$ , see LSJ s.v.  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$  III 3; Lampe, *PGL* s.v.  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$  F 2.

107. When they hear that their daughter narrowly escaped death by invoking Aaron, her parents go to the holy man in the hopes that something can still be done about the death of their grandchild. Before he lends a helping hand, however, the holy man first scolds them for offering him money. He cites two *loci classici* that discourage the love of money ( $\eta\eta\tau\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma\omicron\eta\bar{\eta}\tau$ , Greek  $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ ) from the New Testament (1Tim. 6:10 and Acts 8:20) and evokes a third one from the Old Testament (2Kgs. 5:27). He then refers to a negative case, one in which money did not play a role, that has a close resemblance to the present situation. It concerns the story of the royal official ( $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , Greek  $\beta\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) who came to Jesus and entreated him to heal his son, as he



was about to die (John 4:46–54). Just as the official believed in the words of Jesus (ΒΟΚ, ΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΟΝῚ ‘go, your son lives’; John 4:50) without offering any reward, so the parents must forget about money; only belief can save their grandchild.

ζΑΡΩΝ: the scribe started to write an Ω after the initial ζ of the name but half way through discovered his mistake and changed the letter into an Δ.

ΠΕΚΖΑΤ Μῒ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΒ ΕΦΕΩΠΕ ΝῒΜΑΚ ΖΙ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΧΕ ΔΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΤΔΩ-ΡΕΔ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΔΥΧΠΟC ΖΙΤῒ ΧΡΗΜΑ ‘May your silver and your gold go to perdition with you, since you thought that the gift of God can be obtained with money’: Peter’s rebuke of Simon the magician for wanting to buy the power of conferring the Holy Spirit in Acts 8:20 is referred to in 36, though there it actually introduces a quote from Acts 13:11 (see comm. on ΝΘΕ ... ΝCΙ-ΜΩΝ). Compared with the New Testament text, the citation here adds Μῒ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΒ ‘and your gold’, changes ΕΠΤΑΚΟ into ΖΙ ΠΤΑΚΟ ‘to perdition’ and omits Ε- before ΩΔΥΧΠΟC ‘it can be obtained’ (ed. Thompson, *Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles*, 22, cf. Horner, *Coptic Version of the New Testament* 6, 170, who has ΝΕΩΔΥΧΠΟC) and ΖΕΝ- before ΧΡΗΜΑ ‘money’.

ΝῒΜΑΚ: after writing Νῒ-, the scribe erroneously continued on the next line with a Ν and then corrected it as much as possible into a Μ, in particular by adding the characteristic bent line in the margin to the left.

ΓΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΤΜΑΙΖΟΜῒΤ ΝΤΑΥCΖΡΟΥΕΡ ΓΙΕΙCΕΙ Ζῒ ΟΥCΩΒῚ ‘Indeed, through the love of money Gehazi was cursed with leprosy’: after he has seen his master Elisha refuse a gift (significantly, the same word, εὐλογία [2 Kgs. 5:15; the Sahidic for this passage has not been preserved], as used in 106 for the financial compensation that the parents wish to offer to Aaron) from Naaman for healing him of leprosy, his servant Gehazi runs after him to abuse Naaman’s generosity and surreptitiously claim the reward. When he returns, however, his master curses him and he is to live the rest of his life with Naaman’s leprosy (2 Kgs. 5:19–27).

ΓΑΙ: read ΚΑΙ. Budge has ΤΑΙ, but if the first letter was a Τ, the left part of the horizontal would have been longer and the serif more pronounced, cf. e.g. the writing of ΤΑ in ΝΤΑΥCΖΡΟΥΕΡ in the next line. The exchange of ρ for κ, here due to assimilation with the initial consonant of following ΓΑΡ, is well attested elsewhere in the manuscript, see Introduction, p. 33. A further example of the spelling, also followed by ΓΑΡ, is *P.Mon.Epiph.* 143.20, which is listed by Förster, *WB* s.v. καί. Cf. A. Boud’hors, ‘Les particules καί-ΓΑΡ et ΓΑΡ dans les textes documentaires coptes’, in N. Bosson, A. Boud’hors and S.H. Aufrère (eds), *Labor omnia uicit improbus. Miscellanea in honorem Ariel Shisha-Halevy* (Leuven, 2017) 93–110 at 96–97.

ΝΤΑΥCΠΟΥΕΡ: read ΝΤΑΥCΠΟΥΕΡ. Cf. 36, ΕΤCΠΟΥΡΤ (with comm. ad loc.), for the spelling with additional π. Note that the π at the end of ΝΤΑΥCΠΟΥΕΡ is corrected from a ι.

108. ΕΦΩΟΟΠ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΞ̄Ν ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ‘similar to the apostles whom God gave authority over every illness’: this refers to Matt. 10:1, where Jesus ΔΑ† ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ... ΕΡ ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΦΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΛΟΧΛΕΧ ΝΙΜ ‘gave them (i.e. the twelve apostles) authority (...) to heal every illness and every infirmity’. Cf. T.S. de Bruyn, ‘Appeals to Jesus as the One “Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity” (Matt 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity’, in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu (eds), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008) 65–81 at 69.

109. ΝΗΗΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ†ΝΟC ‘ten *holokottinoi*’: *holokottinos* is the Greek term used in Coptic texts for the gold coin current in Late Antique Egypt, which is the equivalent of Latin *solidus*, see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia. Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen, 1994) 1; T.S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden* (Wiesbaden, 2008<sup>2</sup>) 332–333; R.S. Bagnall, ‘Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary’, in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford, 2009) 179–196 at 191. Among the numerous variant spellings included by Förster, *WB* s.v. ὀλοκόττινος, this one is not listed, but it is well attested, e.g. in the *Life of John of the Golden Gospel*, fol. 70a, 71a, 72a, 72b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 187–190).

ΠΕΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ: read ΠΕΧΡΕΩC ‘the debt owed to him’ (from Greek χρέος). For a parallel, cited by Crum, *Dict.* 10a, see *O.CrumST* 233.9, where a woman complains that a man ΔΦΕΜΕΖΕ ΜΟΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΧΡΕΩC ‘held me liable for a debt’.

ΠΚΑΙΦΑΛΙΟΝ ‘the amount’: for this meaning of κεφάλαιον, see LSJ s.v. κεφάλαιος II 5b; Preisigke, *WB* s.v. κεφάλαιον 2.

110. ΖΜΟΟC ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ‘stay here’: the same phrase is found in 92, for which see the comm. on ΖΜΟΟC ... ΠΕΙΜΑ.

ΖΙ ΤΑΥΛΗ ΖΙΒΟΛ ‘in the outer court’: for the term αὐλή in the Greek papyri, see G. Husson, *ΟΙΚΙΑ. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs* (Paris, 1983) 45–54. We probably have to imagine here an enclosed space outside Aaron’s dwelling.

111–112. Having lost his eyesight, the rich man arrives at Aaron’s dwelling. He falls down in worship before the holy man but Aaron raises him up and delivers a short speech, in which he admonishes him in two ways: first, by citing two passages from the Old Testament (Exod. 20:17, Deut. 5:21; Isa. 5:8), that he should not covet someone else’s possessions, and second, by citing two pas-

sages from the New Testament (Matt. 5:7; Jas. 2:13), that he should be merciful to the poor man. The latter two citations are worked out further in 112, where Aaron refers to two biblical stories to remind him of the fate that lies in store for those who do not show any mercy. The first of these is the parable of the rich man and the poor man as told by Jesus to the Pharisees (Luke 16:19–31). The rich man lives large, while the beggar Lazarus lies at his gate covered in sores and waiting in vain for the leftovers from the rich man's table. When both men die, the rich man is tormented and asks Abraham, who is in a lofty place with Lazarus by his side, whether the latter could relieve his pain. But Abraham replies that he has had his chances and that now only agony awaits him. After a repetition of the quote from James, now preceded by the statement that God's judgment is merciless for those who do not show mercy (2:13), the last biblical allusion, to the story of Ahab and Naboth (1 Kgs. 21), is—as on previous occasions (see e.g. comm. on 62, 107)—the most relevant for the present situation and also brings us back to the theme of coveting other people's possessions. The Israelite king's palace adjoins the vineyard of Naboth. He wants to have it and offers the owner another vineyard or money for it in return, but Naboth refuses because it is his 'ancestral inheritance' (τε[κ]κλη[ρο]νομία νναειοτε, 1 Kgs. 21:3, 4, the latter verse in Kahle, *Bala'izah* 1, 317). This setting is very similar to our story, where in 109 the poor man says that the rich man εφογωω εφι ντοοτ ηπαμα νελοολε νταιταροϋ ρα ναειοτε 'wants to take from me my vineyard which I inherited from my parents'. Disappointed, Ahab returns home and his wife Jezebel tells him that she will take care of the situation. She arranges that Naboth is accused and stoned to death, and Ahab takes possession of the vineyard. Then God sends the Prophet Elijah and proclaims that just as Naboth's blood was licked by dogs, so Ahab's will be. And indeed, Ahab dies in battle against the Arameans and his blood is licked by dogs (1 Kgs. 22:34–38). Thus, Aaron holds up to the rich man a powerful mirror that coveting the poor man's vineyard is wrong and that he should be merciful to him, or else he will be punished, whether here or in the afterlife.

111. ηπατε πωαχε ογω{ε} εἵ ρωϋ 'before the word had left his mouth': ογωε for ογω can be explained by dittography (the word is spelled correctly in 123). For the expression see Crum, *Dict.* 473b.

επνομος 'the law': refers here to the decalogue, as appears from the following quotation, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. νόμος 8b ii.

ννεκεπθωμει ελααϋ νῆκα ἡπετζιτοϋωκ ογδε εἵ πεφνι ογδε τεφωωδε ογδε πεφτβνη ογδε πεφμα νελοολε ογδε πεφμα νχοειτ 'You shall not covet any of your neighbour's possessions, neither his house or his field or his animal or his vineyard or his olive garden': Aaron starts his speech to the rich man with a quote from the Ten Commandments. In comparison with the Sahidic

Old Testament, the concluding phrase of the tenth commandment,  $\kappa\alpha \mu\iota\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\sigma\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\kappa$  ‘all the possessions which belong to your neighbour’ in the version of Exod. 20:17 (ed. G. Maspero, *Fragments de la version thébaine de l’Ancien Testament* [Paris, 1892] 35) and  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\sigma\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\kappa$  ‘anything which belongs to your neighbour’ in the version of Deut. 5:21 (ed. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* 1, 126), has been moved to the beginning of the list of possessions that are not to be desired, whereby the element  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$  is taken from Deut. and  $\kappa\alpha$  from Exod. and the resulting phrase  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\kappa$  ‘any of your neighbour’s possessions’ takes in the place of  $\epsilon\pi\eta\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\kappa$  ‘your neighbour’s house’. Moreover,  $\pi\eta\iota$  has been moved to after the first  $\omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon$  and the definite article has been changed into the possessive pronoun  $\pi\epsilon\upsilon$ - to refer back to  $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\kappa$ . Finally,  $\gamma\bar{\mu}$ , which depends on  $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ , has been added before  $\mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\eta\iota$  for extra emphasis, ‘neither (anything) from his house’.

Directly after the quote, Aaron states that he cannot list all the possessions that can be desired or else his speech will become too long. He has indeed omitted two elements,  $\omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\mu\gamma\alpha\lambda \omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \tau\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\mu\gamma\alpha\lambda$  ‘or his male or female slave’, and condensed  $\omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma\epsilon \omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\gamma\beta \omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \tau\beta\eta\eta \mu\iota\mu \eta\tau\alpha\gamma$  ‘or his ox or his beast of burden or any animals of his’ to  $\omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\beta\eta\eta$  ‘or his animal’. On the other hand, at the end of the list he has added two elements not occurring in the Bible,  $\omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha \eta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\lambda\epsilon \omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha \bar{\eta}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau$  ‘or his vineyard or his olive garden’. Of these, the addition of the former is surely significant in the current context, as the rich man intends to seize the poor man’s vineyard.

$\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \omicron\eta$  ‘it also says’:  $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  does not refer to preceding  $\mu\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$  but to a generic  $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$  ‘Holy Scripture’, cf. 19, where  $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$  also introduce biblical text, though in these cases it concerns paraphrases (the latter is presented as a quote but is actually a paraphrase, see comm. on  $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma \dots \bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ ).

$\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\tau\omega\mu\epsilon \eta\omicron\gamma\eta\iota \epsilon\gamma\eta\iota, \epsilon\tau\tau\omega\beta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota \eta\tau\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$  ‘Woe to those who join house to house, who link field to field, in order to take from their neighbour’: slightly varies the citation from Isa. 5:8,  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota \eta\eta\epsilon\tau\tau\omega\beta\epsilon \eta\omicron\gamma\eta\iota \epsilon\gamma\eta\iota, \epsilon\tau\tau\omega\eta \eta\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota \eta\tau\eta \eta\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma$  ‘woe to those who join house to house, who bring field next to field, in order to take from their neighbours’ (only accessible in the photographic edition of manuscript Pierpont Morgan 568 by H. Hyvernat, *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, vol. 3 [Rome, 1922] Pl. 10).

112.  $\eta\eta\epsilon\upsilon\eta$  ‘Nineveh’: the name of the rich man is not found in the standard Greek text of the New Testament (though it occurs as  $\eta\eta\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  in the Greek Luke of *P. Bodmer* XIV), but has been added in the Sahidic Coptic version,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\eta \mu\epsilon \eta\eta\epsilon\upsilon\eta$  ‘whose name was Nineveh’, whence it frequently occurs in Coptic

literature, e.g. in *Homily of Peter of Alexandria on Riches* (CPG 1659) 20–29 (ed. B. Pearson, T. Vivian, *Two Coptic Homilies Attributed to Saint Peter of Alexandria. On Riches, On the Epiphany* [Rome, 1993] 49–53), the *Encomium on Victor the General*, fol. 49b (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 83) and *Life of Pesynthius*, fol. 44a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 95, spelled  $\text{ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲩⲛ}$ ). See L.T. Lefort, ‘Le nom du mauvais riche (Lc 16<sup>19</sup>) et la tradition copte’, *ZNTW* 37 (1939) 65–72.

113.  $\text{ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ}$  ‘the money’: the word literally means ‘the gold’ but is used here in its more specific meaning of ‘the money’ (Crum, *Dict.* 221b), that is, the ten *holokottinoi* that the poor man owes the rich man as mentioned at the beginning of the story (109).

114.  $\text{ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲛ}$  ‘the contract’: for  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ , see LSJ s.v.; Preisigke, *WB* s.v. and Förster, *WB* s.v. The word can denote any kind of document but refers here to the contract apparently drawn up between both men acknowledging the poor man’s debt. By handing over this contract to Aaron, the rich man indicates that he cancels out the debt. Cf. the story of the poor man and the rich man in *Homily of Celestinus of Rome on the Archangel Gabriel* (ed. Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, 166–181), where the poor man steals the contract (spelled variously  $\text{ⲓⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲓⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲓⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲓⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲓⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲕⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲓⲛ}$ , as here and in 115, and  $\text{ⲕⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗⲟⲓⲛ}$ ) that he has drawn up with the rich man and destroys it in the hopes that he can keep the money that he owes him, but is held accountable by the Archangel Gabriel in his shrine in Rome.

$\text{ⲉ} \dots \text{ⲕⲁⲁⲕ} \dots \text{ⲡⲣⲏⲕⲉ} [ \dots ] \text{ⲉ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ}, \text{ⲛⲩⲧ} \text{ⲛⲁⲕ} \text{ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ} \text{ⲉ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲱⲛ} \text{ⲉ} \text{ⲧⲛⲛⲩ} [ \dots ]$  ‘let it [...] the poor [...] in this world, and he will give you your reward in the world that is to come’: it is impossible to restore the lacuna, but probably Aaron states, along the lines of the first sentence of 112, that for showing mercy to the poor on earth the rich man will be rewarded in the afterlife.

$\text{ⲛⲧⲗⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏ} \text{ⲙⲙⲟⲩ}$  ‘that basin of water’: for  $\text{ⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲏ}$ , see comm. on 27,  $\text{ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲛⲉ} \dots \text{ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏ}[\text{ⲏ}]\text{ⲧⲉ}$ . Note that the spelling with  $\text{ⲏ}$  for the second  $\text{ⲁ}$  is so far unattested.

115. The rich man’s eyes have been miraculously healed. Before he sends both men off, however, Aaron has some cautionary words to say to the poor man. For just as the rich man has shown him mercy, he should equally show mercy to others. Moreover, in fulfilling this commandment from the Gospel (i.e. Matt. 5:7, quoted in 111) there is no reason to hide behind his poverty; even the smallest contribution will earn him a reward. These points are highlighted by referring to two parables, both from Matthew. The first of these come closest to the actual situation in the narrative (Matt. 18:23–34), as it describes how a king forgives his servant a large debt, after which the same servant wastes no time in forcing a fellow servant to pay him back a much smaller debt. When he is informed about this, the master becomes angry, restores the debt and punishes him even more

harshly than originally planned. Besides the parallel situation, which includes the clear warning for the poor man that after the cancellation of his debt he should now also be forgiving to others, it is surely significant to note that at the beginning of the story (109), the poor man pleads to the rich man  $\text{ḫpōw nḡht ʿḫrai ʿxwī ntātāay nāk}$  ‘Be patient with me and I shall pay you back’, which are almost the same words as the servant addresses to his master (and then his fellow servant to him),  $\text{ḫpōw nḡht ʿḫrai ʿxwī tātāay nāk tḥrōy}$  ‘Be patient with me and I shall pay everything back to you’. The second parable (Matt. 25:14–30) tells the story of the master who leaves his three servants with different amounts of money. Upon his return, the servants with the larger amounts have both doubled their sum, while the third, who received the least, has done nothing. The message to the poor man is thus that while different people have different opportunities, he should not waste his time and squander his.

$\text{npēkrāmḡtōn}$ : see comm. on 114,  $\text{npēkrāmḡtōn}$ .

$\text{wēxḡ}$ : the spelling  $\text{wḡxḡ}$  in the manuscript, apparently not attested elsewhere, may perhaps be explained by assimilation.

$\text{alla wāḫrai ʿyḫw mmoḡ nōrw pnoḡte nāt beeke nāk ḫarōq}$  ‘But even for a cup of cold water God will reward you’: adapts Matt. 10:42, which also has  $\text{nōyḫw mmoḡ nōrw}$  ‘a cup of cold water’, to the current context.

116.  $\text{prīmāo de ntēpḡbwk epēqni ḏqḫw eneqrōme nḡwb nim ntāyḡwpe mmoḡ}$  ‘When the rich man went home, he told his people everything that had happened to him’: technically, the next miracle story only begins with  $\text{neḡn oḡrōme de on}$  ‘Now there was a man’ in the following sentence. However, since the statement serves as a bridge between the story of the poor man and the rich man and a further miracle occurring within the latter’s household, it has been kept at the beginning of 116.

$\text{ḫāmoī ene}$  ‘if only’: we have corrected the manuscript’s  $\text{ḫāmoī eie}$ , which does not make any sense, to  $\text{ḫāmoī ene}$ , a standard introduction of the *protasis* of a contrafactual clause with a strong undertone of regret (Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 496; Layton, *Coptic Grammar* § 499). For the conjunctive  $\text{nḡna}$  that follows as verb of the main clause (an apodotic conjunctive), see Introduction, p. 26.

117.  $\text{pōḡet}$ : the word is only attested here (and in the next sentence) and its meaning is uncertain, though from the context it is clear that it must be a place or machine where the donkey works (Crum, *Dict.* 493a; Westendorf, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch* 278, who adds: ‘Tenne, Bewässerungsmaschine o.ä.’). Cf. perhaps Old Nubian  $\text{oḡtt}$  ‘watercourse’ (Browne, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, 142); Nobiin  $\text{oḡti}$  ‘Wässerschöpfstelle am Fluss’ (M.M. Khalil, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache [Fadidja/Mahas-Dialekt]* [Warsaw, 1996] 88). On the basis of these

tentative parallels and the preponderance of irrigation machines such as the *saqiya* or waterwheel at this time, which was often driven by beasts of burden such as donkeys (see e.g. J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* [Toronto, 1984]; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 17–18; M. Malouta, A. Wilson, ‘Mechanical Irrigation: Water-Lifting Devices in the Archaeological Evidence and in the Egyptian Papyri’, in A.K. Bowman, A. Wilson [eds], *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production* [Oxford, 2013] 273–305), we could think of a place or machine for lifting water. Alternatively, we might consider the word to be a variant of οϋοεϛτ ‘pillar’ (Crum, *Dict.* 493a; note that the second attestation in 117 actually reads οεϛτ), which was frequently used to form Egyptian toponyms, as in the case of Bawit (see G. Roquet, *Toponymes et lieux-dits égyptiens enregistrés dans le dictionnaire copte de W.E. Crum* [Cairo, 1973] 1 [no. 7], 16 [no. 144], and Timm 2.643–653 for Bawit). However, since the word could in principle refer to any place or device, we have opted to leave the word untranslated.

μηεϛμοϋ, παωηρε, αλλα εϛο νκνααϥ ‘He has not died, my son, but he is sluggish’: Crum (*Dict.* 776a) correctly notes that instead of νκνααϥ, which makes no sense, we should read νχνααϥ ‘sluggish’. In other words, Aaron reveals to the man from Philae that the donkey, after a hard day’s work, has only collapsed but is not dead.

118. ντοϥ δε ϣωωϥ, ππετοϥααβ απα ϣαρων, ενεϥρ̄ ϣωβ ενεϥϥιχ̣ μμαατε ‘The holy Apa Aaron himself did much work with his hands’: continues the theme of labour of the previous miracle story (117, εϥρ̄ ϣωβ ν̣ϣητ̣ ‘with whom he worked’), while at the same time emphatically shifting the focus to Apa Aaron (by means of ντοϥ, ϣωωϥ and a direct mention of his name).

ϣωωϥ: the ϣ is corrected. The scribe started with a vertical (and a dot to the right of it), perhaps to write the π of the following word ππετοϥααβ, then corrected his mistake by letting the ϣ descend from the middle of the vertical.

ν̣ϥιχ̣ ‘with our hands’: this word is absent from the New Testament text but has no doubt been added to fit the context in which Aaron does handiwork.

ν̣ϣενκϥρια ‘bandages’: from Greek κερία, see LSJ s.v.; Preisigke, *WB* s.v.; Förster, *WB* s.v. (not listing this spelling). Weaving bandages, which were used for funerary and other purposes, was one of the main occupations of the monk Frange in eighth-century Western Thebes, for which he exchanged various commodities such as oil, wheat and honey, see *O.Frange* 1, p. 19 (with numerous attestations listed in the index at vol. 11, p. 51). For the term, see also *P.Mon.Epiph.*, p. 245 (n. 2), which mentions our text.

ν{p}χρια: the p can be accounted for by the compound verb (light verb construction) p χρια, cf. the similar case of ε{p}αποτακ-τ̣κοϥ in 18 (with comm. ad loc.).

πεφθελμα ‘the (literally ‘its’, referring back to extraposed [left dislocated] πμα νελοολε ... ετῆμαγ ‘this vineyard’) vintage’: βελμα normally means ‘jar, vase’ (Crum, *Dict.* 81a), but Westendorf, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch* 452 correctly refers for its etymology to the Demotic wine name *klbj* (Erichsen, *Glossar* s.v. *klbj* [p. 546]) and plausibly suggests that it was named after the jar. That is clearly also the case here and hence we have translated the word with ‘vintage’. ‘Egyptian *klbj*’ is the stiff wine that causes the king’s hangover in the famous story of Amasis and the sailor (*P.Chronik* v<sup>o</sup> 1–21).

119. νβογρε ‘fisher-’: the word is spelled ογωρε in 101. For its various spellings, see Crum, *Dict.* 509a.

εεενωχλει ναν ‘we are harassed’: the verb ἐνοχλέω means ‘to trouble’ (see comm. on 93, εγενωχλει), which we have rendered here with ‘to harass’.

ντετν .... [ - - - ]: the lacuna would have contained Aaron’s rhetorical question about why the fishermen are not going to church, which he repeats in 121. However, since it cannot be known whether the question is exactly or more loosely restated we have refrained from reconstructing it.

ζωβ νιμ ετεφναδαίτει νμοογ ντῆ πνογτε σεναωωπε ναγ ‘he will obtain everything that he will ask for from God’: exactly the same phrase is found in 21, also as the apodosis of a conditional clause in an exegetical passage.

120. νετςρογρῑ: read νετςρογρῑ ‘accursed ones’. The word is also spelled without ο in 36, though there it occurs with an additional ρ (see comm. on ετςρογρῑ).

αμηιτῑ φαροι ογον νιμ ετσοοε αγω ετοτῑ, αγῶ ανοκ τῑνατῑ ντον νητῑ ‘Come to me, whoever is weary and burdened, and I shall give you rest’: the same quote (Matt. 11:28) is found in 91, but without αγω ετοτῑ. In both instances read ετσοε for ετσοοε, with characteristic vowel doubling (see Introduction, p. 30).

122. βαπει: see comm. on 103, βαπη.

τετναρε εογον ‘you will find some’: replicates Jesus’ words (John 21:6) quoted at the beginning of the story (119).

123. αγω νπατε πωαχε ογω ρῑ ρωγ ‘and before the word had left his mouth’: same phrase in 111.

124. ζαρων: after writing ζ, the scribe incorrectly continued with the second vowel of the name, ω, then corrected the first part of the letter to α and integrated its third upward stroke into the ρ.

και γαρ αιωτῑ δε ‘For I have heard that’: introduces a summary retelling of the miracle of the stillborn boy (105–108), using much the same words (especially 108, αφνοχῑ εχῑ πωηρε κογι ετμοογτ ‘he sprinkled it over the little dead boy’, which is literally repeated). The hearsay aspect of the retelling is underlined by the verb πεχαγ ‘so they say’. Note that in the story it is the





*Coptic Version of the New Testament* 4, 94, with the minor variant πειογοειω). The remarkable alteration of κατα πογοειω into κα πειογοειω may be due to a reading error by the scribe or his *Vorlage*.

αφχιτῳ̄ επεφραμῃρ αφσμογ̄ επνογτε̄ εφχω̄ ημοσ̄ '(he) took him in his arms and praised God, saying': the same words are found in Luke 2:28, where Simeon picks up the Christ child and praises God.

κσαμααατ, πλχοειс, ρῃ̄ νεκρβηγε̄ τηρογ̄ 'Blessed are you, Lord, in all your works': cf. Ps. 102:22, σμογ̄ επλχοειс νεφρβηγε̄ τηρογ̄ 'Bless the Lord, all his works' (ed. Rahlfs, *Berliner Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters*, 133); Dan. 3:57, νερβηγε̄ τηρογ̄ μπλχοειс σμογ̄ επλχοειс 'All the works of the Lord, bless the Lord' (ed. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* 2, 317); Sir. 39:14, 'Bless the Lord for all his works' (translation NETS; Sahidic not preserved).

127. ερε̄ ογ̄λαδαιμονιον̄ ενωχλεῑ ναφ̄ επεζογο̄ 'who was excessively troubled by a demon': for the verb in the same context of someone being tormented by demons, see 93 (with comm. on εγενωχλεῑ).

ζαρων: as in 124 (comm. on ζαρων), the scribe began to write an ω after ζ, then changed the part of the letter that he had written into an α.

αγconζῳ̄: there follows another scribal correction, this one perhaps caused by the sequence νεφ̄ in the subsequent word. After the η, the scribe wrote the bent outline of an ε without finishing above, then let the ζ descend from the middle of the line in a way similar to the corrected ζ of ζωωγ̄ in 118 (comm. ad loc.).

μη̄ ντῳ̄ ογματοῑ ρω̄ αν̄ εκογем̄ χινσονῳ̄; 'Are you not actually a soldier, who lives from violence?': refers to Aaron's previous career in the army before he decided to become a monk, as told in 86–88.

μη̄ ηρεναρχων̄ αν̄ νε̄ νεκειοτε̄ εγογωμ̄ μη̄ετε̄ μπογωῃ̄ ριце̄ ερογ̄; 'Are your parents not magistrates, who consume what they did not have to work for?': the information that Aaron's parents are magistrates is not given in the mentioned passage, though the fact that they paid money when they enlisted him in the army (86), no doubt in order to get their son a good position (he was probably an officer, see comm. on 86, νῳ̄χι ... ῃ̄μμηηνε̄), suggests that they are well-to-do.

†σοογ̄ν̄ εγ̄ροογ̄ εᾱ πεκειωτ̄ †μητ̄ ηρολοκοτ†нос̄ νογρωμε̄ επεγωαπ̄ αγω̄ ντερῳ̄τῃ̄ρε̄ εροογ̄ νῳ̄τααγ̄ ναφ̄ ετβε̄ τεφμη̄ντρηκε̄ αφτωρῃ̄ μη̄εφμη̄ ζαροογ̄ 'I know that one day your father lent a man ten *holokottinoi*. And when he did not find the means to pay him back due to his poverty, he seized his house in lieu of payment': this is the second time that a reference is made to a previous miracle story, this one to the miracle of the poor man and the rich man (109–115, cf. 124, where the miracle of the stillborn boy is retold, see comm. on καῑ ... χε̄). Again there are some similarities in formulation, in particular

ΝΤΕΡῚΤῚΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝῚΤΑΔΥ ΝΑϚ ‘when he did not find the means to pay him back’, cf. 109, ΜΠΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΤΑ{Υ}ΤΑΔΥ ΝΑϚ ‘I have not found the means to pay him back’. If the demon intends to directly refer the story of the poor man and the rich man, he grossly misrepresents it, as the creditor is not Aaron’s father but the rich man and he wants to seize the poor man’s vineyard, not his house. Moreover, it is said that the father took the house, whereas in reality Aaron prevented the rich man from seizing property. If, on the other hand, the demon has a separate story in mind that concerns Aaron’s father, he purposely alludes to the story of 109–115 to imply that the holy man blames others for a sin that his own father committed.

ΜΗ ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑϚΑΔΥ; ‘Is what he did not a sin?’: a theme discussed in detail in 111–112 (see comm. ad loc.).

ἸΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΔΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΔΕ ΕΙΕΡ ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΝΕΙΡΩΝΕ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ· ΜΗ ΝΤῚ ΟΥΖΙΑ-ΤΡΟC ΡΩ; ‘And as for yourself, you came to this place, (proclaiming), “I shall heal these sick people”. Are you then a doctor?’: the ironic words of the demon, casting doubt on Aaron’s authority to heal (the expected answer to the rhetorical question is ‘no’), are countered by two previous generic statements about the holy man’s healing abilities: 90, where it said that Aaron ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥ-ΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΤΑΛΒΟ ἸΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ‘performed numerous healings for all the sick’, and 108, at the end of the story of the stillborn boy, where we learn that ΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΩΟΠΙ ΖῆΝ ΖΕΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΝΕΩΑΥΕΝΤΟΥ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΝῚΤΑΛΒΟΟΥ, ΕΥΩΟΠΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΓΕ † ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΧῆΝ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ‘a multitude of people suffering from diseases were brought to him and he healed them, similar to the apostles whom God gave authority over every illness’.

128. †ΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΕ ‘I order’: this rendering of παραγγέλλω is not listed by Förster, *WB* s.v. but cf. e.g. the spelling ΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΙΑ as found in the same manuscript, in *Homily of Timothy of Alexandria on Michael the Archangel* (CPG 2529), fol. 72b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 518).

ΝC[Δ] {Ν}ϚΙ: no text is missing after ΝC[Δ]; the redundant Ν is caused by the switch to a new page.

ΕΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΝΝΕΧΑΛΔΑΙΟC ‘to Babylon of the Chaldeans’: according to Rev. 18:2 a place where demons dwell. For the association of Babylon with demons in early Christian literature, see e.g. K. Galling, B. Altaner, ‘Babylon’, in *RAC* 1 (1950) 1118–1134 at 1132–1133. Cf. the description of the journey by John the Little to Babylon, where he encounters numerous demons, in the Bohairic *Homily of Theophilus of Alexandria on the Three Youths* (CPG 2626; ed. H. de Vis, *Homélie coptes de la Vaticane*, vol. 2 [Copenhagen, 1929] 135–151).

ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΝΤΑϚΑΔΥ ‘when each will receive according to what he has done’: cf. Rom. 2:6, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑΤΩΩΒΕ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕϚ-

ῥβηγϵ ‘he will repay each according to his works’; 2 Cor. 5:10, ϣεκαας ερε πογα πογα ϣι νεβολ ϣιτμ πεφωμα προς νενταφααϣ, ειτε αγαθον ειτε πεθοοϣ (ed. Thompson, *Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles*, 153) ‘in order that each may receive according to what he has done through his body, whether good or bad’; Rev. 22:12, εϣι μπογα πογα κατα πεφωβ ‘to give to each according to his work’.

129. τΟΤΕ ΑΓΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΤΡῪϣΙ ΝΟΥΛΑΑϣ. ΝΤΟϣ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΦΑ-ΝΕΧΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ϣΕ ΜΠΕϣϣΙ ΟΥΛΑΑϣ ΝϣΙΜΙΝΕ ϣΙ(Ν)ΤΑϣΡ ΜΟΝΟΧΟϣ ‘Then they asked the holy man if he would accept a little something. But he refused, for he had not accepted anything of this sort since he became a monk’: an example of this is 106–107, where the parents of the girl with the stillborn boy say to Aaron ϣι ΝΤΟΟΤῪ ΝϣΙΚΟϣΙ ΝΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ‘Accept this small gift from us’ and he then rebukes them for it (see comm. on 107). There follows an anecdotal passage about Aaron, introduced by ΕΝΕΩΑϣϣΟΟϣ ΕΡΟΙ Ὺϣαϣ ΝΟΠ ‘Often he used to say to me’ (note the use of the preterit habitual), which illustrates his rejection of material possessions beyond the bare minimum.

ΜΠῼϣΩϣῪ ΝΑ ϢΕῤΒΗϣΕ ῪΠΕΙΚΟϣΜΟϣ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΝΑϣῪ ϣΗϣ ΑΝ ΝΛΑΑϣ ‘Do not look for the things of this world, which will not bring any profit’: same thought in 5, where Luke 9:62 is explained, ΠΕΙΩΑϣΕ ΔΕ ϣΕ ὩΩῪῪ ΕΠΑϣΟΥ ϣϣΜΑΝΕ ῪῪΠΡΟΟΥϣ ΜΠΚΟϣΜΟϣ ΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ ΜῪ ΝΕϣϣΥΛΕΙ ῪῪῪῪῪϣΟΥΩΝΟΥ ‘This word “to look backward” signifies that we should ignore the vain cares of the world and its material aspects’.

ΑΛΛΑ ῪϣΟϣΟΝ ΟΥῪΤΑΝ ΜΜΑϣ ΝΤΕϣῼ ΜῪ ΘῪϣΩ ΝΑΙ ΝΑῼΩϣΕ ΕΡΟΝ ‘But as long as we have food and clothing, these will be sufficient for us’: cf. 1 Tim. 6:8, ΕΥΝΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΜΑϣ ΝΤΕϣῼ ΜῪ ΘῪϣΩ ΝΑΙ ῼΩϣΕ ΕΡΟΝ ‘but if we have food and clothing, these are sufficient for us’ (ed. Thompson, *Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles*, 238; Horner’s text has the typo ϣΕ for ΔΕ). Paul continues by warning against the dangers of seeking wealth including the maxim ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ ΤΕ ΤΜῪῪΤΜΑΙϣΟΜῪῪ ‘The love of money is the root of all evil’ (1 Tim. 6:10), which is, not coincidentally, cited in 107 where Aaron takes the girl’s parents to task for offering him money as a gift.

130. ΑϣΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜῪΝΑ ΝΑΙ ‘Following these events, it happened that’: does not introduce the next miracle but a further anecdote about Aaron, this one unrelated to the miracle of the possessed man (127–129) and focusing on the holy man’s ascetic practices. As such it reverts to the description of Aaron’s ascetic hardships during the summer heat in 92–94, of which there are some verbal echoes here (see the entries below), and expands on it by telling about his deeds in winter, when at night he stands exposed to the bitter cold in wet clothes and during the day he seeks out a particularly cold place.

πια ‘the Valley’: see comm. on 37, πια.

ΖΗΘΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ ‘Stay here’: same phrase in 92, for which see comm. on ΖΗΘΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ.

ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΕΦΩΙΝΕ ΝΩΔΙ ΔΧΙC ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΔΑΦΩΚ ΕCΘΙ ΠΩΙΝΕ ΝΟΥCΟΝ ‘If someone comes to look for me, say to him, “He went to visit a brother”’: Aaron gives exactly the same reason for his absence to Isaac himself in 92, although the pupil soon finds out that his master is actually practicing asceticism in the desert.

ΤΕΦΠΟΛΥΤΑ ‘his ascetic practice’: for πολιτεία in this sense, which returns in the last sentence of this paragraph (ΝΕΙΝΟC ΜΠΟΛΥΤΑ ‘these great ascetic practices’), see the discussion of ΝΝΕΦΠΟΛΥΤΑ in comm. on 66, Α: ΔΑ]ΟΥΩΩΒ ... ΕΒΟΛ.

ΝΤΕΦΛΥΒΥΤΩΝ ‘his tunic’: from Greek λεβίτων, a tunic without sleeves worn by monks, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. λευιτών; Förster, *WB* s.v. λεβίτων, who among several variants does not list this one; M. Mossakowska-Gaubert, ‘Tuniques à manches courtes et sans manches dans l’habit monastique égyptien (I<sup>re</sup>-début VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, *AntTard* 12 (2004) 153–167 at 161–163, and ‘Tunics Worn in Egypt in Roman and Byzantine Times’, 330–331.

ΦΑΦΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΖΑ ΖΕΝΖΟ(Ν)ΚΟΟΖ ΜΠΕΤΡΑ ΕΥΩCΘ: as in the case of ΕΥCΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΟΥΚΩΩΖ ΜΠΕΤΡΑ in 90 (with comm. ad loc.), the clause literally means ‘he went to below some cold rocky hilltops’, which we have rendered as ‘he went to the foot of some cold rocky hilltops’, that is, away from the sun. Despite the fact that the plural is used here, it is tempting to identify this spot with the one in 90, about three miles into the desert (90, comm. on ΝΑ ΦΟΜΗΤ ΜΗΙΛΙΟΝ) and ‘below a rocky hilltop’ (above), where the first encounter between Isaac and Aaron takes place and to which the pupil goes back to find his master in 93 (comm. on ΔΙΤΩΟΥΝ ... ΝCΟΠ). It is plausibly also the hilltop where Aaron encounters a demon in 96 (comm. on ΖΑ ... ΝΤΟΟΥ) and the place to which he retreats to be alone in 125 (comm. on ΕΠΜΑ ... ΝΖΗΤΩ). For ΚΟΟΖ ‘(hill) top’, see comm. on 13, ΠΚΟΟΖ. Cf. 39, comm. on [Ε]ΥΝΗΧ ... ΝΤΟΟΥ.

ΖΗ ΠΩΩΜ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΦΑΦΑΔΕΡΑΤΩ ΖΗ ΤΗΗΗΤΕ ΜΠΚΑΥΜΑ ΝΩΩΛΗΛ ‘In the summer, on the other hand, he stood in the middle of the heat and prayed’: cf. the moment when Isaac finds Aaron in 93, ΔΙCΘΗΤΩ ΕΦΑΔΕΡΑΔΑΤΩ ΖΗ ΤΗΗΗΤΕ ΜΠΩΟ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΚΑΥCΩΝ ΝΒΟΛ ‘I encountered him standing in the middle of the sand, while an excessive heat reigned’.

131. ΔCΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΜΠΕ ΔΝΑΒΑCΙC ΦΩΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΝCΩΦΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΙ ΜΟΟΥ ‘It happened one year that the inundation did not occur and not all the fields received water’: exactly the same phrase is found in 66, at the start of the story that Apa Aphou tells to the two quarrelling monks.

πιστεγε δε πνουτε ..... [ - - - ] 'Believe that God [...]': the missing text cannot be restored. However, it is clear that Aaron would have said that if the poor have faith in God, he will take care of their worries.

πικεινε μη τεκρικων 'your likeness and image': refers to Gen. 1:26, where God states μαρενταμιο νουρωμε κατα{τα} τεκρικων αγω κατα νενεινε 'let us create humankind according to our image and likeness' (ed. O. von Lemm, 'Sahidische Bibelfragmente III', *Bulletin de l'Académie impériale de sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 5th series, 25 [1906], no. 4, 93–137 at 98).

132–134. This is the only episode in the manuscript where the text is in serious disarray. In the opening sentence of 132 we hear that the number of men who come to Aaron to ask him to pray to God for the Nile inundation is five and even that their number will be explained later, κατα θε ετερε τριστορια ναταμον ενωδανοουε εον 'as the story will show us as we proceed' (see next entry), but this detail is never explained. As in the first miracle of the Nile inundation (131), Aaron then goes up to the river and prays to God. However, the prayer is suddenly interrupted by the sentence starting with αγω ζοταν εφωδανεε μπμοου μπειερο 'And whenever he brings about the inundation of the river', from which point onwards God is no longer directly addressed but referred to in the third person singular and we are in the middle of a speech by Aaron about being merciful (132–133), apparently directed to the five men. After the men have been dismissed (134), Aaron goes up to the river and again prays to God, while referring to two well-known Old Testament stories in which God miraculously produced water (for the people of Israel in Exod. 17:6 and Samson in Judg. 15:18–19), this time to the desired effect (135).

Since the quote from Proverbs (30:8) is a prayer to God that seems to explain the previous sentence (poverty can lead the poor to profane the name of God, cf. Prov. 30:9), it appears that a significant portion of text is missing after it, which would have contained the end of Aaron's first prayer, the return of the men and the explanation of their number, and the first part of the holy man's speech to them. The reason for the omission may lie in the Proverbs quote, which refers to both poverty and wealth, a major theme in Aaron's following speech, and may somehow have induced the scribe (or his *Vorlage*) to inadvertently jump several lines of text. Also note that the subsequent sentence, the one starting with 'And whenever he brings about the inundation of the river', contains an unexplained 'he', of which the antecedent ('God', or a similar word) would probably have been mentioned in the omitted passage.

Due to the missing text, the exact meaning of the sentence following the quote from Proverbs is not entirely clear, but Aaron seems to pick up on the men's remark that the inundation will be ετβε ταναπαυσις ηηρωμε 'for the relief of the people' in 132 (restated here as ετβε τηαναπαυσις μαζααν 'for

our relief alone') by saying that it also brings with it the opportunity for rich and poor alike to engage in acts of mercy. Here the same idea is expressed as in 111–112 and 115 (see comm. ad loc.), that if the rich man shows mercy to the poor man, he will be rewarded in the afterlife, while the poor man will also be rewarded if he makes the best of his precarious situation. In 133, the theme is expanded by the metaphor of Jacob's ladder. In the explanation of the image, attention is focused specifically on rich men by reference to Luke 14:12–14, in which it is said that they will be rewarded in the afterlife for showing mercy to the poor (and other underprivileged people), but it also states that every act of mercy, even if relatively small, helps (cf. Aaron's remark to the poor man in 115 that *ⲓⲁⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϣⲗⲱ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲱⲣⲱ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲓ ⲃⲉⲉⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲁⲣⲟϥ* 'even for a cup of cold water God will reward you'). The exposition ends with a repetition of the quote from Jas. 2:13, *ⲡⲛⲁ ⲱⲁϥⲱⲟϥⲱⲟϥ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲓⲗⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ* 'mercy prevails over judgment', which already figured twice in 111–112.

132. *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲟϥⲉ ⲉⲑⲛ* 'as the story will show us as we proceed': a similar expression e.g. in the *Life of Longinus* 2 (ed. T. Orlandi, *Vite dei monaci Phife Longino* [Milan, 1975] 48), *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟϥⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲛⲙⲟⲟϥⲉ ⲉⲑⲛ* 'as we shall reveal as we proceed' and *Life of Pesynthius*, fol. 20b (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 75), *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲱⲁⲛⲙⲟⲟϥⲉ ⲉⲑⲛ* 'as the story will show us as we proceed'.

*ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟϥⲟⲱ ⲁⲉ ⲉϣⲟⲡⲓⲥⲡⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲱⲃⲉⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲧⲛⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁϥⲓⲥ ⲛⲏⲣⲱⲙⲉ* 'When they continued to entreat him to pray to Christ that he would send them the inundation for the relief of the people': as in three previous passages (see comm. on 5, *ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲱⲱⲡⲉ*, 13, *ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ... ⲛⲱⲛⲉ* and 34, *ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲉⲡⲣⲓⲡⲉ*), the precursive (temporal) is not followed by a main clause. Instead, the author explains why the men entreat Aaron to pray to Christ for the inundation: *ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲧⲣⲉⲧⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟϥⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲟϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ* 'as they were distressed since the season of the Nile inundation had passed'. In a subsequent sentence (*ⲁⲉ*), he then picks up the verb *ⲟⲱ*, not in the form of a precursive, as in the other three instances, but as the verb in a main clause, now followed by a completive circumstantial that reflects the men's state of mind, *ⲛⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲱ ⲉϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ* 'they continued to cry'. Since both verbs (*ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟϥⲟⲱ ... ⲉϣⲟⲡⲓⲥⲡⲓ* 'when they continued to entreat' and *ⲁϥⲟⲱ ⲉϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ* 'they continued to cry') anticipate Aaron's response (*ⲁϥⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲕⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ* 'he saw their sorrow') and the construction resembles the one in the three mentioned cases, we have translated *ⲁϥⲟⲱ ⲉϥⲣⲓⲙⲉ* as '(when) they continued to cry'.

*ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁϥⲓⲥ ⲛⲏⲣⲱⲙⲉ* 'for the relief of the people': the manuscript has the similar word *ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ*, a slip of the pen no doubt caused by preceding *ⲡⲙⲟⲟϥ*, which also means 'the inundation'.

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΜΠΜΟΥΖ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ‘since the season of the Nile inundation had passed’: for the season of the inundation, see 93, comm. on ΧΕ ... ΜΠΜΟΥ.

ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ [ . . . . . ] . . . Ν ΕΦΟΠΙΣ̄ ΝΖΗΤ̄ ΔΥ[ - - - ]ΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΤ[Ε] ΕΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ‘(he) rose (...) praying in it and he (...) God, saying’: on the analogy of the first miracle of the Nile inundation (131), the lacuna would have described Aaron going to the river and praying ‘in it’ to God on behalf of the people.

Μ̄Ν ΛΑΔΥ Ο ΝΑΤ̄ΟΜ ΝΝΑΖΡΑΚ ‘nothing is impossible with you’: cf. Matt. 19:26, ΝΑΖΡΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ Ο ΝΑΤ̄ΟΜ ‘but with God nothing is impossible’ (ed. Aranda Pérez, *Evangelio de San Mateo en copto*, 215; cf. Horner, *Coptic Version of the New Testament* 1, 208, who has ΝΝΑΖΡΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΤ̄ΟΜ).

133. ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΝΑΗΤ ΕΦΤ̄ΗΤΩΝ ΕΤΕΒΛΟΟΒΕ ΝΤΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΡΑΤ̄̄ ΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ, ΕΡΕ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ΠΗΖ ΩΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ, ΕΡΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ (ΒΗΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΔΥΩ ΕΥΝΗΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΙΧΩC, ΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC) ΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΕΧΩC, ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΝΑ ‘The merciful man resembles the ladder that Jacob saw, its foot set firmly on the earth with its top reaching up to heaven; the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord rested on it, he who is the father of mercy’: the description of Jacob’s ladder follows the biblical text (Gen. 28:12–13, ed. Maspero, *Fragments de la version thébaine de l’Ancien Testament*, 13, with P. Nagel, ‘Fragmente eines sahidischen Genesiskodex der Nationalbibliothek zu Paris [BN copte 129<sup>1</sup> fol. 8–13]’, *ZĀS* 116 [1989] 71–90 at 79–80) quite closely, though the verbs are changed into a series of circumstantials beginning with ΕΡΕ. While copying the text, the scribe or his *Vorlage* mistakenly took the word ΠΝΟΥΤΕ for ΠΧΟΕΙC and continued with ΤΑΧΡΗΥ, thereby skipping a line. We have reconstructed the missing text on the basis of the biblical model.

ΕΚΩΔΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΑΡΙCΤΟΝ Η ΟΥΔΙΠΝΟΝ, ΜΠ̄ΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΕΚΩΒΗΡ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΚCΥΝ-ΓΕΝΗC ΑΛΛΑ ΤΩΖ̄Μ̄ Ν̄ΝΖΗΚΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΒΛΛΕ Μ̄Ν ΝCΑΛΕ ΧΕ Μ̄ΝΤΑΥ ΛΑΔΥ ΜΜΔΥ ΝΩΒ̄-ΒΙΩ ΝCΕΤΟΟΒΟΥ ΝΑΚ̄ CΕΝΑΤΟΟΒΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ̄ Ζ̄Ν ΤΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC Ν̄ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ‘When you hold a lunch or dinner, do not invite your friends or relatives, but invite the poor, the blind and the lame, because they have nothing in exchange to repay you, for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous’: a condensed version of Luke 14:12–14, from which several words and phrases have been omitted. Note also that ΝCΑΛΕ and ΝΒΛΛΕ have been turned round and that the New Testament text has ΧΕ Μ̄ΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΔΥ ΕΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑΚ̄ ‘because they have no means to repay you’.

ΠΝΑ ΩΑΦΩΟΥΩΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΧ̄Μ̄ ΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ‘Mercy prevails over judgement’: same quote (Jas. 2:13) in both 111 and 112.

135. ΠΧΟΕΙC, ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΝCΑΥ {ΠΕ} ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΝ ΜΠΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΩΑ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ ‘Lord, you are the same yesterday, today and forever’: this invocation of God, adapted from Heb. 13:8, can also be found in Aaron’s prayer on behalf of the



man whose wife was barren in 125 (comm. on  $\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon \dots \mu\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\zeta$ ). Here  $\mu\epsilon$  and  $\lambda\gamma\omega$  are added behind  $\mu\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$ , probably under influence of the biblical model, although  $\mu\epsilon$  is superfluous.

$\epsilon\lambda\gamma\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\epsilon\zeta\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon \ \omega\mu\mu\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\alpha\gamma \ \zeta\bar{\iota}\tau\bar{\eta} \ \mu\epsilon\omega\lambda\eta\lambda \ \mu\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$  ‘And there was great plenty that year thanks to the prayers of the saint’: cf. the similar formulation in 14,  $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta} \ \omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\epsilon\zeta\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon \ \omega\mu\mu\mu \ \zeta\bar{\eta} \ \mu\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \ \epsilon\tau[\mu]\mu\alpha\gamma \ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  ‘there was great plenty at that time in the eyes of God’. For  $\zeta\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , a mere orthographic variant of  $\zeta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$  ‘plenty’ (Kasser, *Compléments* 94 ad 643a), see comm. on 14,  $\zeta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ .

$\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\bar{\iota} \ \mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu \ \epsilon\mu \ \mu\omicron\mu \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$  ‘The prayer of the righteous is powerful and effective’: Jas. 5:16 is also cited in 21, there with the addition of  $\epsilon\mu\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , as in the biblical text.

136.  $\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\mu\epsilon\zeta\bar{\iota} \ \tau\omicron\omicron\tau \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu \ \tau\eta\mu\omicron\gamma \ \mu\eta \ \mu\epsilon\omega\mu\mu\epsilon \ \mu\tau\alpha \ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\iota} \ \mu\mu\mu\omicron\upsilon \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \zeta\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\tau\bar{\eta} \ \mu\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta \ \alpha\mu\alpha \ \zeta\alpha\mu\omega\mu, \ \mu\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \mu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\bar{\varsigma} \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\omicron$  ‘If I would try to narrate all the signs and wonders that God worked through the holy Apa Aaron, the story would become too long’: this conditional sentence resembles the rhetorical figure *praeteritio* (*paraleipsis*), as the narrator implies that he will not prolong his story but instead tells one more miracle. At the same time, the sentence, with a wink to the final verse of John (21:25), serves to signal that Isaac is nearing the end of his account.

$\zeta\alpha\mu\omega\mu$ : as in 124 and 127 (comm. on  $\zeta\alpha\mu\omega\mu$ ), the scribe wrote an  $\omega$  after  $\zeta$ , after which he corrected the letter by integrating it in  $\alpha$  and  $\mu$  (127 is bit different as it is at line end and therefore the  $\omega$  is only corrected into  $\alpha$ ).

$\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma$ : read  $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta$  ‘an *artaba*’, the standard grain measure. One *artaba* of barley would weigh a bit over 30 kg, see D.W. Rathbone, ‘The Weight and Measurement of Egyptian Grains’, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 265–275; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 332, and ‘Practical Help’, 186–187.

137. Again, as in 26 and 86, the opening sentence of this passage concludes the previous section, on the life of Aaron, though Isaac has one more story to tell, the miraculous way in which the saint died. The depiction of Aaron’s death comes close to those of the first bishops of Philae (54, 74, 78 and 85), especially that of Macedonius, with whom Aaron is specifically connected in 28, as he is supposed to have heard the story of the first bishop from the man himself. The scene here even emulates the deaths of the bishops, as it is the only one in which angelic choirs appear in the sky. Significantly, Aaron is buried next to the first three bishops of Philae, thereby continuing the tradition that had started when Mark was buried beside Macedonius (74) and Isaiah after him (78; Psoulousia was buried somewhere else). Just as Aaron’s special connection to Macedonius served to enhance his authority in 28, his burial *ad sanctos* does so even more. Thus,

*the scene can be seen as the culmination point of both sections 2 and 3, and in a way of the work as a whole.*

137. ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ, Ω ΠΑCΩΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἩ ΜΠΟΛΥΤΑ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΓΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν) ‘Here then, my brother Paphnutius, I have told you a few of the feats of the holy Apa Aaron’: these words end the story about Aaron that Isaac had begun in 86. They are comparable to the concluding statements of sections 1 and 2, where the return to the primary narrative level is marked by ΕΙC ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ (26) and ΤΞΝΟΥΘΕ ... ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ (86), respectively, and the direct address of Paphnutius (see comm. ad loc. on ΕΙC ... ΕΒΟΛ and ΤΞΝΟΥΘΕ ... ΖΩΩΤ). That Isaac has recounted only ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ‘a few’ of the exploits of his master, slightly at odds with the lengthy account he has just delivered, is explained in the following sentence: he is but a human being who cannot even begin to do justice to his master’s vast array of virtuous deeds (see next entry). As in 26 and 86 (see comm. on 86, ΔΝΕΦΕΙΟΥΤΕ ... ΖΩΩΥ), Isaac seamlessly continues with his last and final topic, Aaron’s death, which is here introduced by ΤΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ ‘I shall (now) tell you’ (cf. 26, ΟΥΟΝ ΠΕΤἩΝΑΧΟΟΥ ‘There is something (more) we would like to say’).

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΝἩ ΟΥΛΑC ΝCΑΡΞ, ΜἩ CΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΧΩ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΝΕΦΑΡΕΤΗ ‘For I am but a tongue of flesh and unable to sing the praise of his virtues’: the same modesty theme is worked out e.g. in the prologue to the *Life of Longinus* 1 (ed. Orlandi, *Vite dei monaci Phife Longino*, 46), where the author similarly wonders about the saints ΔΟΥ ΝΛΑC ΝCΑΡΞ ΠΕΤΝΑΔΟΥ ΧΩ ΜΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΝΝΕΤΜΗΔΥ; ‘Which tongue of flesh will be able to sing their praise?’.

ΑΦΑΔΑΙ ΖἩ ΝΕΦΖΟΥΥ ΑΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΔΝΖΑΛΙCΚΕ ‘He was advanced in years and his body was worn out’: cf. the similar formulation about Macedonius’ declining health in 54, ΑΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΖΡΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΕΑΦΑΔΑΙ ΠΕ ΖἩ ΝΕΦΖΟΥΥ ‘his body started to cause him difficulties, for he was advanced in years’. For ΑΦΑΔΑΙ, see comm. on 28, ΑΚΑΔΑΙ.

ΖΙΤἩ ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΑCΚΙCΙC ‘due to excessive asceticism’: cf. the description in 6 of the face and body of John, Pseleusius’ master, as deeply pallid ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝἩΝΑCΚΗCΙC ‘on account of excessive asceticism’.

ΔΙCΩΤἩ ΕΖἩCΜΗ ΝΤΕ ΖΕΝΧΟΡΟC ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ‘I heard voices of angelic choirs’: much like angelic voices are heard at Onnophrius’ death in the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 15a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 217) and at that of Shenoute in the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 187–188 (ed. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia* 1, 75–76).

ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΧΔΙ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΦΒΩΛ ΧΕ ΔΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖἩ ΜΠΗΥΕ ΝΘΕ ἩΤΑΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΧἩ ΠΚΑΖ ‘But I, Paphnutius, said to him, “This is what it means: that he was proclaimed blessed in heaven just as he was proclaimed blessed on earth”’: Paphnutius responds to Isaac’s remark

that he did not understand the words μακαριος, μακαριος sung by the angelic choirs. At first sight, one may be inclined to think that Isaac does not know Greek, a favourite *topos* since the *Life* of Antony, who spoke only τῇ Αἰγυπτιακῇ φωνῇ ‘in the Egyptian language’ (Ath. v. *Anton.* 16.1 [SC 400, p. 176]) and had to converse with two philosophers through an interpreter (Ath. v. *Anton.* 72.3, 74.2, 77.1 [SC 400, pp. 320, 324, 330–332]). Cf. also Isaac’s remark μηδεμις εμεπετοϋχω ημοϋ ‘I did not understand what they were saying’ with 99, ημεϋεμε επετῳχω ημοϋ ηαϋ ‘he did not understand what he said to him’, where a Nubian is unable to comprehend Aaron’s words and Isaac has to fetch an interpreter. In this interpretation, Paphnutius would have translated the words μακαριος, μακαριος for Isaac.

On the other hand, he does not really do that but rather explains to Isaac why the angels were saying ‘Blessed, blessed’: just as Aaron was considered blessed on earth, the angels confirmed that he was deemed blessed in heaven as well. Moreover, the word μακαριος is a common loanword in Coptic and Isaac himself uses it a couple of times in his story of the first bishops of Philae (28, 78 [twice]). If he really did not know what μακαριος meant, he would also not have understood Paphnutius’ explanation, which uses the verb derived from μακάριος, μακαριζω ‘proclaim blessed’. It is more likely, then, that Paphnutius is explaining the words to Isaac. This interpretation equally underscores Isaac’s characterization as extremely humble (28, ἀνὴρ οὐρῶμεν ἐλαχιστον ‘I am a most humble man’; cf. the previous portrayals of both Zaboulon and Matthew as ignorant, comm. on 3, [ἀνὴρ οὐ γὰρ] ἴτσοογν, and 16, νῆνοι ἀν) and at the same time puts Paphnutius, who is on a special (divine) mission (see intro to 1–3), in the spotlight as someone capable of interpreting the miraculous event.

With Paphnutius' intervention in Isaac's story we briefly revert to the primary narrative level, which has the double function of adding liveliness and announcing that the return to the dialogue between Paphnutius and Isaac, which occurs in 138, is immanent.

ἁγμτον ἡμοϩ ρῆ ογμῆτῥλλο εςκιωϩ ρ61 ππετογααβ ἀπα ραρων ‘the holy Apa Aaron went to rest in the fullness of old age’: cf., also after a precise indication of time of death, 54, ἁγμτον ἡμοϩ ρῆ ογμῆτῥλλο ενανοϩ ρ61 πεπισκοπος ετογααβ ἀπα μακεδωνιος ‘the holy Bishop Apa Macedonius went to rest at a good old age’. The phrase ρῆ ογμῆτῥλλο εςκιωϩ, literally ‘in a fat old age’, is biblical (see most notably Ps. 91:15, the just σανααωαι ρῆ ογμῆτῥλλο εςκιωϩ ‘will increase in a ripe old age’ [ed. Budge, *Earliest Known Coptic Psalter*, 100]). Although listed separately by Crum, *Dict.* 129b, κιωϩ is a stative of κenne (Crum, *Dict.* 111b–112a); see H.J. Polotsky, ‘Sahidisch κιωϩ’, *ZÄS* 65 (1929) 130 (repr. in idem, *Collected Papers* [Jerusalem, 1971] 341).

138–140. In the epilogue, we definitively return to the conversation that Isaac and Paphnutius had started in 28. Paphnutius, grateful to Isaac for telling him the stories about Aaron, pledges to write them down for the edification of others. In the closing scene, which is reminiscent of the welcoming scenes in 2 and 28, Isaac and Paphnutius eat some bread and pray together before Paphnutius travels back to the brothers in the north (139). The coda states once more the main topic of the work, the life of Aaron, and ends with an invocation of the Holy Trinity (140).

138. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, ΠΑCΟΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΟΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΟΥΝΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΝῆΝ ΤΑΞΑΗ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC ΕCΡ ΑΝΑϞ ‘Now then, my brother Paphnutius, pray for me that God may have mercy on me and make my end in this world pleasing to him’: after he had already ended his second story in 137 (comm. on εΙC ... ΖΑΡΩ(Ν)), to which he added a glorious finale in the scene of Aaron’s death (section 3), Isaac now concludes both of his stories (sections 2 and 3), with which we return to the primary narrative level for the last time and are back at the dialogue between Isaac and Paphnutius of 28. Isaac’s request itself is a standard formula, which occurs, with many variants, in colophons, e.g. Van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons* 1, 60 (no. 35.2.10–12), 118 (no. 71.8–11), and in inscriptions, e.g. J. Maspero, É. Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1931) 63–64 (nos 58, 60), two *dipinti* left by painters, which read, respectively, ΟΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΟΥΝΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ ‘pray for me that God may have mercy on me’ and ΟΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝ ΤΕΥΞΑΗ ΕΦΟΛ (read ΕΒΟΛ) ΕCΕΡΩΔΟΥ ‘pray for them that God may give them a fitting end’.

ΑΙΡ ΜΠΩΑ ΝΟΥΝΟC ΝΞΜΟΤ ΧΕ ΑΙCΩΤῆ ΕΝΕΙΠΟΛΥΤΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῆ ΕΝΑ ΠΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ <ΝΕ> ‘I have become worthy of a great grace, because I have heard about the feats of this holy man from you’: interestingly, upon their arrival on his island, Isaac had spoken the same words to Paphnutius (and Pseleusius) in 28, ΑΙΡ ΠῆΠΩ[Α ΝΟ]ΥΝΟC ῆΞΜΟΤ ‘I have become worthy of a great grace’, as Paphnutius now speaks to Isaac. Cf. also the response by some anonymous monks from Scetis to Paphnutius’ story in the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223), ΑΛΗΘΩC ΑΚΗΠΩΑ ΝΟΥΝΟC ΝΞΜΟΤ ‘Truly, you have become worthy of a great grace’. The second part of Paphnutius’ response echoes Isaac’s words in 137, ΑΙΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΞΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΜΠΟΛΥΤΑ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΑΡΩ(Ν) ‘I have told you a few of the feats of the holy Apa Aaron’.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΗΝΑCΖΑΙCΟΥ ΝΤΑ{Κ}ΚΑΑΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΥΠΡΟCΤΑΓΗΑ ΝΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ‘Therefore I, in turn, shall write them down and lay them down as a precept for all generations to come’: the explicit statement to write down a story for the benefit of others is a common *topos* that can also be found e.g. in the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 21a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 223), where the anonymous brothers write down the story that they have heard from the main narrator Paphnutius and exhibit the resulting book in a local church, and

the *Life of Cyrus*, fol. 30a (ed. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 136), where Pambo similarly writes down his story and displays it in the church of Scetis. For this idea, see F. Vecoli, ‘Writing and Monastic Doctrine’, in M. Choat, M. Giorda (eds), *Writing and Communication in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Leiden, 2017) 164–186 at 183.

ΝΤΑ{Κ}ΚΑΔΥ: the scribe first wrote ΝΤΑΚΑ, then corrected the second α to κ (ΝΤΑΚΚ). He continued by writing one α too many (ΝΤΑΚΚΑΔΑ), and corrected final α to Υ.

139. ΔΦΘΩ (read ΔΦΚΩ) ΕΞΡΑΙ [ΝΟ]ΥΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΑΝΟΥΩΜ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΚ ΜΗ ΝΕΝ-  
ΕΡΗΥ ‘he laid a table and we ate some bread together’: the formulation here evokes similar descriptions in the welcoming scenes of Paphnutius by Pse-  
leusius (and Zaboulon) in 2 and of Paphnutius (and Pseleusius) by Isaac in 28 (see comm. on 28, ΔΦΚΩ ... ΗΠΩΠ̄ΕΜΟΤ), and is thus a convenient way to round off the entire work.

ΑΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤ̄ ΕΤΡΑΒΩΚ ΕΘ̄ ΠΩΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΖΙ ΠCΑ ΝΜΖΙΤ̄ Μ̄ΜΟQ  
‘and I left him in order to go and visit the brothers to his north’: no doubt a similar remark revealing why Paphnutius undertook the journey south was included in the opening scene (now lost), see comm. on 1–3.

140. ΕΑΦΧΕΚ ΠΕΦΔΡΟΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ ‘who finished his course’: for this phrase, going back to 2 Tim. 4:7, see the detailed discussion and contextualization of a group of nine commemorative *dipinti* dating to the sixth/seventh century from Kellia and Pheme by S.J. Davis, ‘Completing the Race and Receiving the Crown. 2 Timothy 4:7–8 in Early Christian Monastic Epitaphs at Kellia and Pheme’, in H.-U. Weidemann (ed.), *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity. The Reception of New Testament Texts in Ancient Ascetic Discourses* (Göttingen, 2013) 334–373. For the metaphor of ascetic life as an athletic contest, see 14, comm. on ΑΘΛΗCΙC.

ΕΥΕΘΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΔC ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΗ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΗ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ  
ΝΡ̄QΤΑΝΞΟ ΔΥΩ ΝΞΟΜΟΟΥCΙΟC, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΩΔ ΕΝΕΞ ‘for the glory of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial, now and forever until eternity’: a conventional invocation of the Holy Trinity that is also found in various formulations at the end of several other works in the Esna-Edfu collection, e.g., in the same manuscript, at the end of the *Prayer of Athanasius* (CPG 2182), fol. 67b (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 51).



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# Index of Written Sources

The Index of Written Sources consists of indices of literary works, papyri and ostraka, and inscriptions referred to in the Introduction and Commentary. The index of literary works is divided into scriptural passages and other literature. The subsection on the Bible contains all such passages discussed throughout the book, including the direct biblical references in the text that have been indicated in the translation (see pp. 46–47 above for an explanation about these references). In the latter cases, we have added the paragraph number of the text between brackets and in bold, so that the reference can easily be looked up. All references to Psalms are according to the Septuagint numeration.

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# Index of the Coptic Text

The Index of the Coptic Text contains indices of names (with separate lists of proper and topographical/ethnic names) and words (with separate indices for Egyptian words and Greek loan-words). The entries refer to the page and line number of the text. Thus ⲁⲁⲣⲟⲛ 74.4, 7, 12 in the index below means that the biblical Aaron is mentioned on p. 74, lines 4, 7 and 12 of the text. In the word indices, only lexical words have been included; conjunctions, prepositions, particles and so on have been left out. The words are usually listed as they appear in the main dictionaries, with aberrant forms included in brackets behind the attestation. All entries, including the Egyptian words, are arranged in the order of the Greek alphabet, then ϣ, ϥ, ϧ, Ϩ, ϩ and ϫ (as in Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, Select Coptic Index), not according to consonantal roots.

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ϣⲁⲭⲉ 64.5, 10, 18 (2×), 23, 23–24, 29; 66.7, 17–18; 68.6, 8, 9, 15–16, 29; 70.26, 32; 72.16 (2×), 20, 22; 78.17; 80.1, 14, 23; 82.17, 20, 22, 34; 84.31 (2×); 86.12; 88.16, 18; 90.16, 20; 92.32, 35; 94.22, 25; 96.1, 2, 7, 9, 30; 98.18, 19; 100.8; 102.6, 14–15, 17, 22; 106.17, 20, 24; 108.9; 110.4, 32; 116.5; 122.18; 130.5, 12, 13–14, 29, 33; 134.10, 16; 136.18, 30; 138.16; 140.5, 12, 15; 142.12; 146.2, 30

ϣⲁⲛⲣ 70.21; 88.14; 94.28; 102.22; 106.26; 110.25; 124.28; 132.16; 136.28, 31; 144.10

ϣⲉ 80.25, 27; 122.23, 26

ϣⲁⲛⲣⲉ 64.7, 9; 68.17; 74.30; 78.25; 80.21, 26, 31; 82.8, 10, 15, 18 (2×), 25; 84.5, 14, 21, 24; 86.14, 33 (2×); 88.11, 31, 38; 90.2, 9, 12, 13, 15, 21–22; 92.11; 94.9, 10; 96.4 (2×), 27; 98.14, 34; 100.3; 102.28; 104.1; 106.13; 110.6; 112.29; 118.6, 8, 15, 16; 120.3, 4, 7, 20, 29; 122.6, 7, 9, 25, 27; 124.5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16 (2×), 25, 29; 126.7, 9, 13, 29; 128.1, 7, 8, 19, 31; 130.18; 134.5; 136.23; 138.12, 14, 17, 26, 27, 29, 34; 142.8; 146.6, 8; 148.3

ϣⲁⲛⲣⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲛ 116.23; 126.1, 2, 17, 17–18, 19; 128.5

ϣⲉⲣⲉ 100.7–8

ϣⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲛ 126.18; 138.11 (ϣⲉⲣⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲛ)

ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ 124.25

ϣⲁⲛϥⲉ 80.25, 29

ϣⲁ 144.17

ϣⲁⲃⲉ

ϣⲁⲃⲉ 76.29

ϣⲁⲃⲁⲩⲱ 70.31; 144.12

ϣⲁⲕⲉ

ϣⲁⲕ 140.21

ϣⲁⲛⲉ 64.15; 66.9; 68.28; 70.3, 6; 72.9; 78.29, 32; 80.2, 11; 94.21; 96.6, 16; 98.25, 26, 35; 100.32; 110.32; 118.15; 120.7; 126.26–27, 27; 130.3; 140.15, 34

ⲥⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲡ-/ⲥⲁⲛⲡⲁⲛⲉ 76.18; 94.8; 118.24; 120.12; 136.8; 140.35; 144.2; 146.32

ϣⲁⲛⲉ

ⲛⲛⲧⲁⲩⲩⲁⲩⲁⲛⲉ 140.5–6

ϣⲁⲕⲁⲕ

ⲁⲩⲩⲁⲕ 122.9

ⲁⲩⲩⲁⲕ 122.10

ϣⲁⲛⲁ 64.12, 17; 66.31; 74.22–23, 27; 76.13; 78.3, 12, 13; 86.20, 28; 92.6; 98.6 (2×); 100.16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25 (2×), 26; 102.2; 112.14; 114.7, 13, 15; 116.22; 120.25 (2×), 26; 126.29; 130.2; 132.18; 134.23; 136.17, 19, 22; 138.20, 25, 31; 142.1, 4, 10; 144.16, 21, 27, 31; 146.25, 32

ⲥⲁⲛⲩⲁⲕ 86.27

ϣⲁⲛⲛⲟ 68.11

P ϣⲁⲛⲛⲟ 116.8–9, 9

O ϣⲁⲛⲛⲟ 136.7

ϣⲁⲛⲟϥⲛ 94.14

ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉ 78.30; 80.19; 86.30; 100.14

ⲣⲣⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉ 78.31 (ⲣⲣⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉ), 34; 80.5 (ⲣⲣⲣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉ); 100.13; 118.23

see also under ϣⲟϥⲧⲉ/εἰδωλον

ϣⲁⲛⲉ 124.4, 6; 134.27 (all ϣⲁⲛⲛ)

ϣⲁⲛⲛϥ 136.19

ϣⲁ 116.34; 118.34

ϣⲁⲛⲛⲛⲧ 68.11; 72.34; 76.19; 84.20; 86.17; 94.22; 104.15; 108.8; 110.17; 116.14, 34; 118.29; 134.6, 7; 140.17

ϣⲁⲟϥ

ϣⲁⲟϥⲉⲧ 66.15, 18; 88.28; 100.14

ϣⲁⲟϥⲁⲃⲉ 68.16

ϣⲁⲟϥⲟϥ 130.17, 21; 144.15

ϣⲁⲟϥⲧ 84.9, 10; 112.21; 126.26

ϣⲁⲛⲣⲉ 88.39; 114.17; 122.29, 31, 32; 126.14; 132.23; 138.6; 146.1

P ϣⲁⲛⲣⲉ 88.34; 90.12; 96.29; 120.27; 122.22; 128.9; 132.7; 136.31

O ϣⲁⲛⲣⲉ 146.13

ϣⲁⲛⲉ 124.5 (ⲥⲁⲛⲉ)

ϣⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ 136.8

ϣⲁⲧⲛⲛ 86.3; 96.28; 104.23, 24–25

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ϣⲁⲃⲁ 120.35

ϣⲁⲃⲛ 120.30; 142.3

ϣⲁⲃⲛⲉ 94.12 (2×); 108.22; 114.24; 116.31; 128.11, 12; 136.8, 23; 140.11; 146.15

ϣⲁⲃⲛ 68.9; 72.9; 116.15; 120.8; 134.17; 136.7; 140.8

ϣⲁⲃⲛⲉ 64.4, 11; 66.8; 68.6, 17, 19, 21, 25; 70.20; 74.24; 78.24, 29; 80.12, 20, 31; 82.6, 10, 33, 34, 35; 84.2, 14, 16, 35; 86.12, 23, 27, 31; 88.1, 5, 34, 36, 39; 90.9; 92.3, 27, 36;

- 94.6, 19; 96.1, 7; 98.1, 22; 100.7; 102.15–16, 17; 104.8; 106.14, 29–30; 108.12; 112.22; 114.1, 17, 29; 116.1, 23, 29, 33; 120.16, 30; 122.1, 4, 5, 16, 23, 26, 31, 32, 33; 124.1, 3–4, 4, 15, 17 (2×), 24, 26, 28; 126.3, 4, 9–10, 34; 128.3, 24; 130.3, 22, 28 (2×), 31; 132, 17, 21–22; 134.10, 17, 20, 30; 136.26, 31; 138.6, 8, 15, 17, 27, 28, 28–29; 140.32; 142.1, 6 (2×), 8, 19; 144.30; 146.3, 9, 23, 29
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- ⲙⲁ ⲛⲱⲡⲉ 64.3; 68.10; 74.35; 76.15; 78.3, 6, 11; 88.1; 90.3, 7–8; 94.5, 18; 110.18, 27; 112.29, 36; 116.32; 118.21; 120.13, 16; 122.15; 124.1; 128.5–6; 138.14
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- ϣⲟⲣⲡ 118.28, 29, 33
- ⲛⲱⲣⲡ 64.6; 68.25; 72.10; 82.7; 86.35; 92.14; 104.19, 22; 112.22, 30; 114.23 (all ⲛⲱⲣⲡ)
- ϣⲣⲡ 68.8; 72.20
- ⲣ ϣⲟⲣⲡ 78.9; 92.9
- ϣⲱϥ 80.12; 94.21; 108.29
- ϣⲱⲧⲉ 74.21
- ϣⲱⲧⲛ
- ϣⲧⲁⲙ 100.24, 26; 126.24; 136.33
- ϣⲱⲱⲧ 82.32; 134.25
- ϣⲁⲁⲧ 70.36; 80.16; 136.14
- ϣⲱϣ (plait) 134.16
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- ϣⲱϥⲉ
- ϣⲟⲉⲓϥ 120.33
- ⲣ ϣⲟⲉⲓϥ 66.5
- ϣⲱϥⲡ 78.30; 92.11; 132.13
- ϣⲱⲉ 66.23; 72.30, 33; 74.30; 90.14; 94.13; 120.11; 136.14; 140.30
- ϣⲱⲉ 68.3
- ϣⲓ 66.14; 70.25; 82.16; 86.8; 88.6; 92.36; 120.11; 122.25; 126.5; 128.17; 130.13; 140.15
- ϣⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ 66.29; 74.1, 4, 7, 8–9, 10; 116.6
- ϣⲓⲛϣⲓ 68.32
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- ϣⲓⲧ 74.19 (ϣⲧ)
- ϣⲧⲟⲱϣ 76.26; 86.1; 104.15–16; 118.29; 140.3
- ϣⲱ 86.30; 118.20
- ϣⲱⲧⲉ 122.14
- ϣⲱⲉ 64.15; 126.10 (ⲃⲟⲉ)
- ϥⲁⲉ 124.18; 146.26 (both ϥⲁⲛ)
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- ϥⲙⲣⲁⲗ 64.13; 70.5; 106.14; 116.6; 122.4; 132.15, 16, 17
- ⲣ ϥⲙⲣⲁⲗ 66.1
- ϥⲁⲗⲙⲧ 80.19
- ϥⲁⲙⲙⲣ 138.31
- ϥⲁⲡ 72.35; 88.13; 140.20
- ϥⲁⲡⲥ 104.4
- ϥⲁⲣⲉⲗ 98.16; 108.10; 112.35; 114.33; 132.18; 136.18
- ϥⲁⲣⲛϣ 70.34; 80.36
- ϥⲁⲧ 66.28, 30; 126.34; 128.2; 140.29
- ϥⲁⲗ 66.9, 11; 68.1, 2, 5; 76.17, 29; 98.29; 100.19; 132.15; 138.8; 140.26
- ϥⲃⲁ
- ⲣ ϥⲃⲁ 112.25
- ϥⲃⲃⲉ 66.17
- ϥⲃⲟϣⲣ 66.6; 74.5; 84.6, 8, 10; 86.34; 110.34; 134.28, 29; 136.1
- ϥⲉ (find) 64.9; 70.16, 29; 74.31; 82.8 (2×), 9, 10, 19, 23; 84.17, 20; 96.16; 104.5, 33; 106.2, 22; 114.4; 118.8, 33, 36; 124.5, 14, 25; 128.6, 15; 134.2, 27; 136.20; 140.9; 142.32
- ϥⲛϣ 100.5
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- ϥⲉⲃⲱⲛ 102.24
- ϥⲉⲛⲟϣϣⲉ 72.2; 144.30 (ϥϥⲛⲟϣϣⲉ)
- ϥⲛⲃⲉ
- ⲣ ϥⲛⲃⲉ 72.32; 94.16
- ϥⲛⲧ (heart) 64.30; 66.12, 32; 68.4, 24, 26; 70.20; 74.17, 22; 80.1; 82.16; 84.4; 88.9; 90.24; 100.14; 104.3; 110.31; 116.28; 140.23
- ⲃⲁⲗⲣⲛⲧ 68.20
- ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲛⲣⲛⲧ 118.10
- ⲣⲙⲛⲣⲛⲧ 80.11
- ⲣ ϥⲛⲧ 70.31
- ϣⲛ ϥⲛⲧ 92.27, 28; 126.3; 130.19; 142.16 (2×), 17
- ⲧ ϥⲛⲧ 116.27
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- ϥⲛⲧ (north) 84.1; 106.10; 108.31; 130.4
- ϥⲛϣ 66.20; 72.13; 104.2
- ⲣⲙⲛⲣⲛϣ 64.21

- † 𐤆𐤏𐤕 64.21, 22; 70.29, 29–30; 90.4;  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕 70.10; 116.3; 118.8; 122.17  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕 70.10; 72.24, 33; 74.31 (2×); 102.12, 14;  
 120.8, 11, 33  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 86.21; 118.11, 12; 126.2; 136.4 (all  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 except 86.21)  
 𐤏𐤕𐤁 𐤆𐤏𐤕 134.15  
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 † 𐤆𐤏𐤕 118.30; 120.1, 3, 6  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 82.12, 17, 31; 92.28, 30; 94.1 (all  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 except 92.30 and 94.1)  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 68.16; 70.32  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 80.14; 90.20  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 70.9; 78.13, 17; 84.30; 88.1, 2, 13 (2×),  
 18; 90.35; 92.14; 94.3, 10; 96.8; 102.3;  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 72.28  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 80.31–32; 124.2 (both 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁)  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 140.29  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 126.33, 36  
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 116.1, 14, 29, 33; 118.28; 120.12, 13, 14, 15,  
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 90.13; 106.23, 25; 110.1, 2; 112.10; 118.26;  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 68.29; 94.22; 104.15; 106.1; 108.8,  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 68.3; 92.10  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 64.4; 72.35; 90.23; 108.18; 138.3  
 𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁 78.6  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 64.29; 82.27; 100.16; 120.19–20;  
 134.24; 144.18  
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 † 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 74.21  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁 110.13; 112.7; 138.29  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 68.3; 140.27  
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 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁 116.14  
 𐤆𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 66.8; 70.22; 84.12; 94.14; 98.1, 5;  
 106.14; 128.26, 28; 130.2, 31; 142.1  
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 90.30; 94.13, 23; 96.10, 21; 100.11, 15, 29;  
 106.20; 112.19; 118.13, 14, 15; 120.29; 128.4;  
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 ϣⲟⲃ ⲛⲉⲓⲗ 134.14  
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 ϣⲟⲧ  
 ϣⲟⲧ 78.4; 104.33  
 ϣⲟⲧⲃ 82.18; 120.23 (2×)  
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 ⲭⲁⲉⲓⲉ 68.32; 72.21, 23; 76.2, 22; 80.36 (all  
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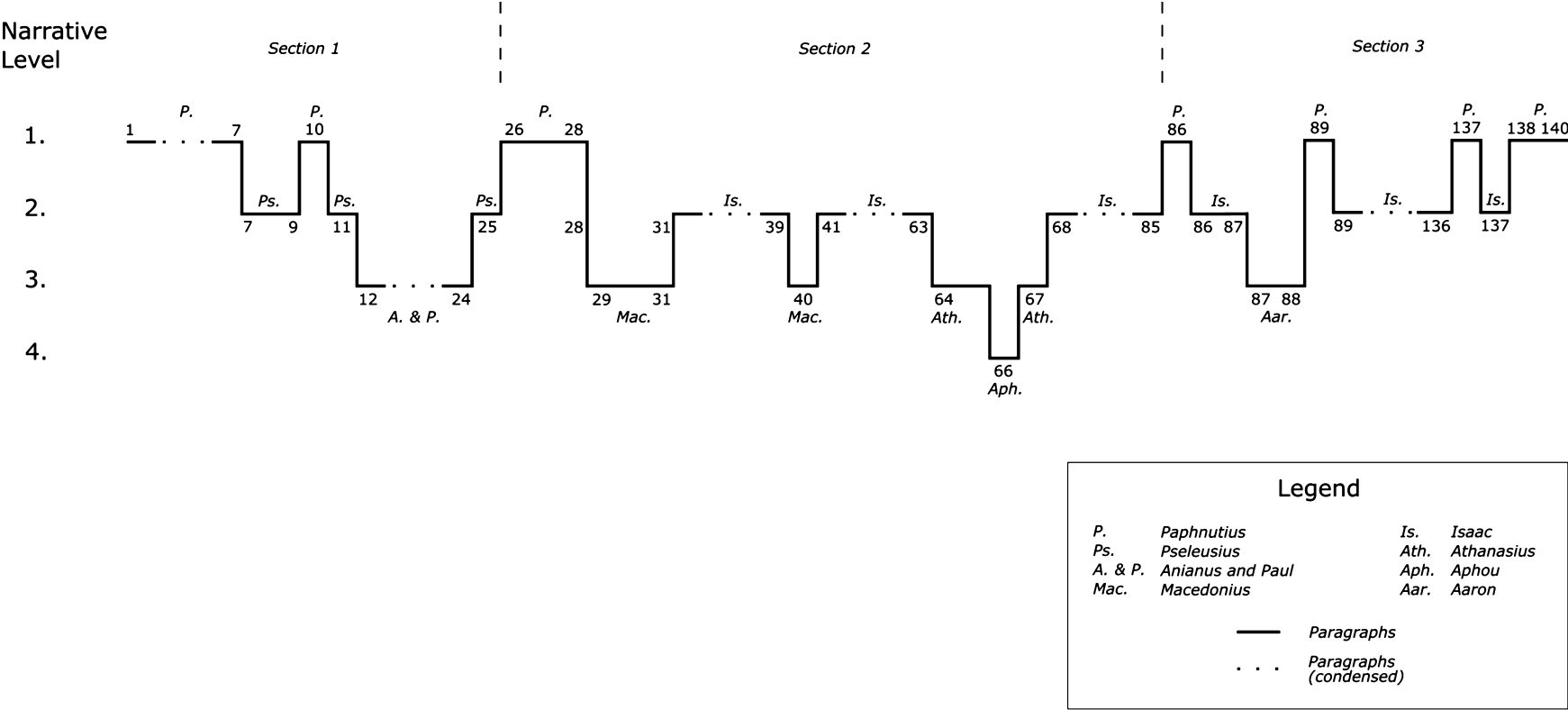


FIGURE 1 Schematic overview of the narrators and different narrative levels in the *Life of Aaron*

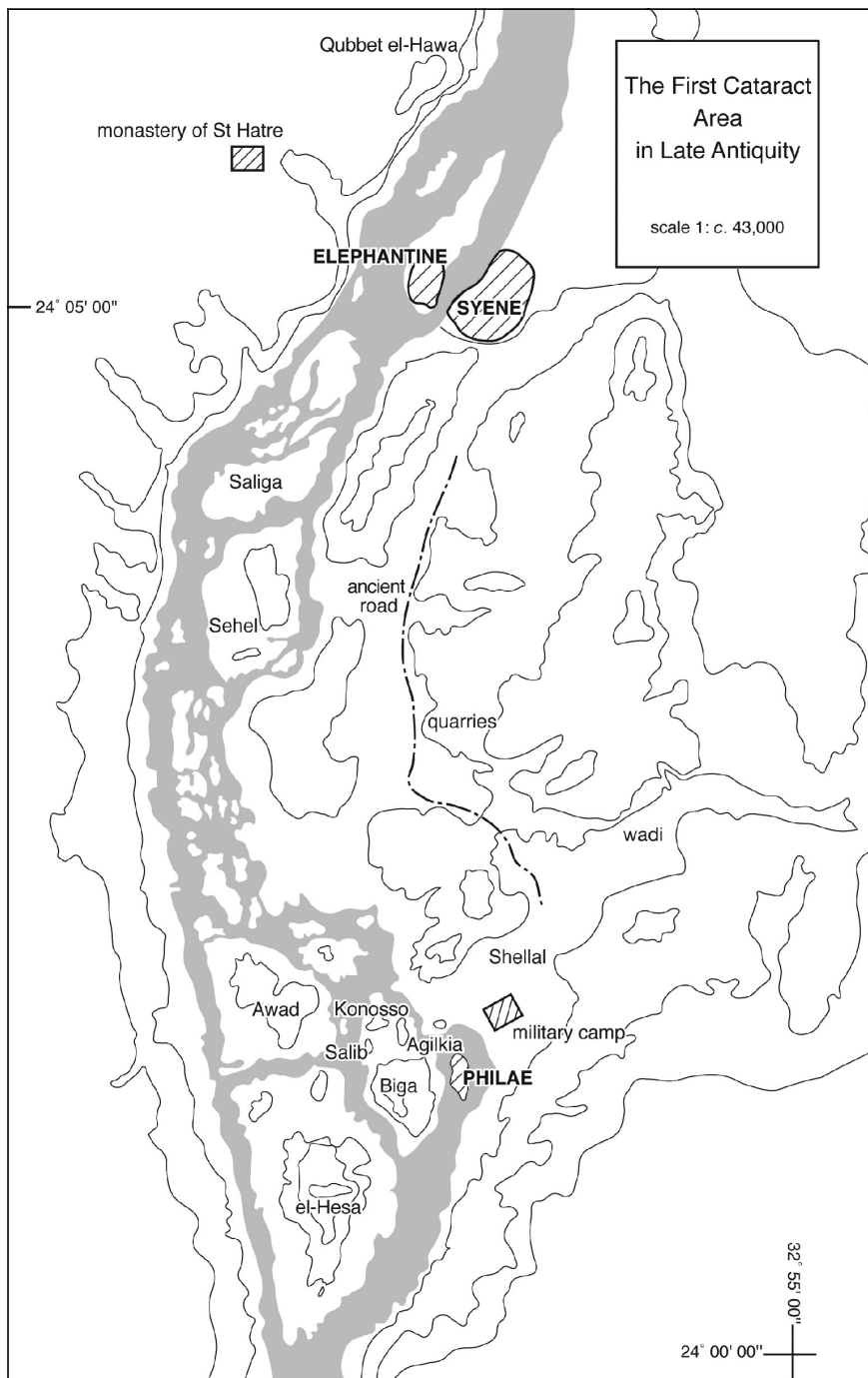


FIGURE 2 The First Cataract area in Late Antiquity (Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, Fig. 2)

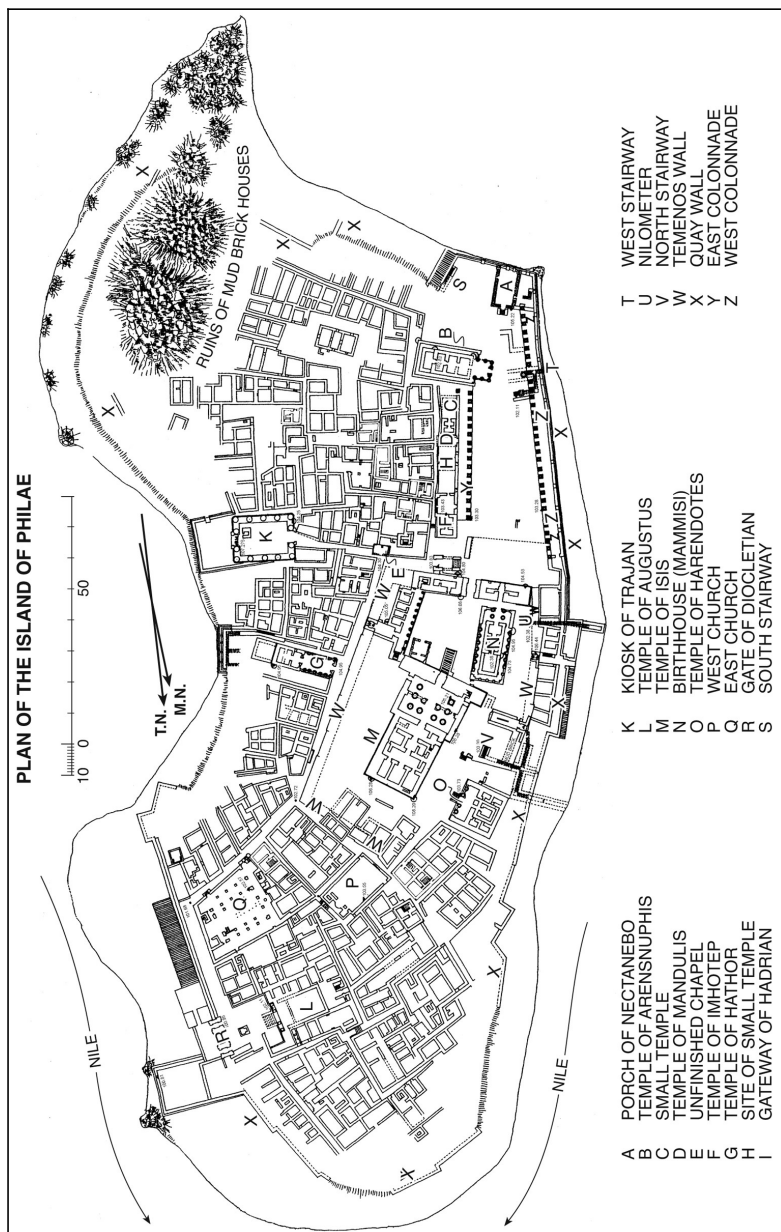


FIGURE 3 Philae island before the transferral of its temples to Agilkia (after H.G. Lyons, *A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae* [London, 1896] pl. 1)